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Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America


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THE BACKGROUNDS OF ORGANIZATION AND THOUGHT

OF

THE EVANGELICAL MISSION COVENANT CHURCH OF AMERICA

by

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INTRODUCTION

The forces of the past, the forms of the present, and the gradual dawn of the future are all part of a great historic process. It is the "God and Father of us all" who gives meaning to this temporal order within the larger context of an eternal world of meaning and value.

To give meaning to our own individual lives is a much more personal and needful thing than to solve the "Riddle of the Universe" in the abstract. Whatever is of lasting significance, is so in view of its relationship to persons. The worth of the individual is always of paramount importance.

Meaning comes to the lives of individual persons in and through two main relationships. The first one is the personal knowledge of God. The second one is the personal knowledge of other persons.

The ways in which man has come to know God are many and varied and at the same time one and the same. The particular expression of revelation and discovery is dependent upon the accidents of history. But it is always a relation between

God and man which is revealed.

The personal knowledge man has of man is dependent upon his acquaintanceship with God. Conversely, his attitude and conduct towards others is reflected in his ways of seeking God.

The revealed knowledge which man has of God changes constantly. New discoveries by man, new self-revelations of God continually add to our appreciation of God and His love for us. The prophets of Israel were undoubtedly the great discoverers of God's character. Jesus Christ was the supreme revelation of God's person.

The relationship between persons is inextricably bound up with the bonds between man and God. To know and to understand the community more fully, is to know and understand God better. And, to know Him is to love Him.

In this thesis, I have sought to become better acquainted with one particular community--The Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America. Out of this study, a sharpened sense of how God acts in social movements has arisen. In turn, it has become increasingly evident that God works in this present world in order to carry out a purpose which includes man in a very significant way. My denomination has a place in that purpose. May it ever be faithful in its work.

Berkeley, California,

April 24, 1939.

Le Roy C. Train

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIANITY IS INTRODUCED IN SWEDEN

1. Slow introduction of Christianity in Sweden

A period of fusion between Christian and pagan elements preceded the formal acceptance of Christianity in Scandinavia and in Scandinavian settlements of the Northland. This period of fusion took place slowly. When Christianity was finally accepted, there was no great cleavage between the old and the new customs and beliefs as there was in other Northern European countries. In Scandinavia, for instance, there were those like the man in Iceland who worshipped Christ when he was safely at home on the farm but who worshipped Thor when he was out at sea or in danger.¹

The Scandinavian peoples accepted Christianity about the same time. This was during the great movement towards

¹ Millson, History of the Church and State in Norway, p. 112, quoted by K. S. Latourrette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol. II, The Thousand Years of Uncertainty (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938), p. 112.

CHAPTER 1

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Christianity during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. Perhaps the chief obstacle to an early acceptance was that Christian ethics ran counter to Viking practice. When the new religion was accepted, the newness had rubbed off. It was now colored by their culture and it was comparatively easy to yield obedience to the Christian God. These Norsemen were attracted most strongly by Christ--the Conquering God who had overcome death.²

2. Peaceful Methods of Conversion

Christianity was an infiltration and not a superimposition in Sweden and in the other Scandinavian countries. Force, except in Norway, was seldom used to encourage conversion. King Inge of Sweden, it is true, had abolished the heathen sacrifices in Svithod and had ordered all the inhabitants to be baptized. This was in 1080. However, he was pelted with stones and forced to abdicate for three years. He was much more tactful upon his return. Then too, Småland, Sweden was forcibly converted but this was done by the Norwegian King Sigurd (1121-1130).³ Sweden taken all in all,

²K. S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol. II, The Thousand Years of Uncertainty (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938), p. 112.

³C. H. Robinson, The Conversion of Europe (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1917), p. 482.

was converted to Christianity by Christian methods.

Whenever a community or district accepted the religion of Christ as an official one, it was because certain leading men had first accepted the faith and had influenced others to accept it too. Then, the acceptance or rejection of it as a religion of the people was decided in the public assembly. If the sentiment was favorable, a lot was cast to determine the will of the gods. When the people were in favor of accepting the new belief and the lot was also favorable, they usually accepted it by vote immediately. Sometimes they were not willing to commit themselves to so radical a decision. One time when things were about like this in a certain province, an old man stood up and determined the course of the meeting by telling them of his own experience. On a certain trading expedition everything had gone against him. He called upon the gods, but they didn't answer him. Then he called upon Christ, the God of the Christians, and immediately his fortune changed. When he had concluded his testimony, the people immediately adopted Christianity as one of their religions.⁴ One is reminded of the vote which the Israelites took when they accepted YHWH as their God.⁵

⁴C. H. Robinson, How the Gospel Spread through Europe (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1919), p. 144.

⁵Exod. 19: 5-8.

3. Ansgar, The Apostle of the North

The first missionaries made little impression upon the Scandinavians. There were many missionaries who labored in these lands for years but their results were invariably disappointing. They built only to see their work torn down and their labor wasted. Many were driven from the land. It seemed impossible to convert these Barbarians. But one man labored whose work still stands. His name is venerated wherever Swedes are found. Missionary societies are named after him. This man was Ansgar⁶ a Benedictine monk who became known as "The Apostle of the North".

Ansgar was born September 9 (?), 801 near Amiens in North-western France. He was deeply religious from childhood. Dreams and visions played a very important part in determining the course of his life. His education was of the best. He studied first in the nearby monastery of Corbie and then in the daughter institution at Korvei in Westphalia, Prussia. He later became master and preacher of this monastery. After a time as head of the monastery he was sent out on a number of missions. When he was on a mission to Denmark in 827 envoys came from Björn, King of Sweden, requesting Christian mission-

⁶Also spelled Anskar, Anscharius, and Ansgarius.

aries for Sweden.⁷ Ansgar was recalled and sent to Sweden with a group of other monks to help him in his missionary endeavors. His great work was accomplished on this trip. This work which he established in Sweden between the years 828 and 831 still stands as a monument to his religious greatness.⁸ It is true, the work did not continue to flourish after he left but a decline set in which was not overcome for a century or more. The few years that Ansgar spent in Sweden stand out as the high spots of her religious history before the Lutheran reconstruction. Later religious history has been judged in reference to Ansgar's period. This criterion still stands. Ansgar made a visit to Sweden as Danish ambassador in 853.⁹ He died February 3, 865, at Bremen, Germany.¹⁰ His feast is celebrated on February 3.¹¹ He was canonized by the Roman Catholic Church.

⁷K. S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol. II, The Thousand Years of Uncertainty (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938), p. 117.

⁸"Ansgar," The Century Cyclopedia of Names (New York: The Century Co., 1894), p. 61b.

⁹C. T. Odhner, Sveriges Historia (Chicago, E. A. Lindberg & Co., 1906), 2. Synkronistiska tabeller.

¹⁰"Ansgar," The New International Encyclopedia, 2d. ed., Vol. I (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1914), p. 681b.

¹¹"Anschar," The Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. II (New York: Americana Corporation, 1938), p. 6a.

4. The First Christian King of Sweden

The first Christian King of Sweden was Olof Skötkonung (993 to 1024) who was baptized in 1008 by Bishop Sigfrid. He was an earnest Christian and desired to remove all marks of paganism from his realm. He planned to destroy the old heathen temple at Upsala. The non-Christians opposed him in this and passed a statute that he was not to force Christianity upon them nor could he destroy their old altars and temples. However, if he desired to be a Christian, he could hold as his own the richest district in Sweden and there he could build a church which all who so desired could join. He quickly agreed and built a church in Skara. It was here that Thurgot was ordained by Archbishop Unwan (1013 to 1029).¹²

5. Christianity Accepted

For about seven centuries Sweden slowly cast off her pagan gods and became Christian. This was ample time for the new faith to become well established and accepted. Churches were established in many places on the mainland and missions were founded in outlying districts. She had become solidly

¹²C. H. Robinson, How the Gospel Spread through Europe (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1919), p. 144.

Roman in her Christianity. However, many of the missionaries to Sweden had come originally from German schools. In turn, many Swedish students studied in Germany. When Germany turned from Romanism, Sweden was destined to follow suit.

6. Lutheranism Established

The influence of Lutheranism in Sweden dates from 1519 when two brothers, Olof and Lars Petersson, returned to Sweden from studies in Wittenberg. They soon influenced the archdeacon of Strengnäs, Lars Andersson, to champion the cause of Lutheranism in Sweden. Gustaf the First, in turn, was strongly influenced by these leaders and soon became a staunch Lutheran.

In June, 1527, King Gustaf demanded and received from the general assembly¹³ three things. 1) All episcopal or monastic property which was not needed for religious work was turned over to the Crown. 2) All tax exempt land acquired by the Church since 1454 was returned to the heirs of the original owners. 3) God's word was to be preached in its purity.¹⁴

After obtaining these three things, Gustaf reorganized

¹³Odhner, op. cit., p. 135. This was at the Västerås Riksdag, 1527.

¹⁴Ibid. Gustaf's words were: "Guds ord skulle allestädes i riket varda rent predikat."

the Church under royal authority. The king took over the power and authority of which the pope had recently been divested.¹⁵

Most of the clergy remained in their old positions. Just one bishop left. The clergy took to the change without great difficulty. Now they were responsible in spiritual affairs to a temporal ruler. Their immediate status was about the same as it had been.

The old forms were retained. A bishop was still called a bishop but his function was now that of a superintendent--as in Germany. A priest was still called a priest but the priesthood of all believers was now emphasized.¹⁶ The idea of the Apostolic Succession was accepted to the extent that Bishop Peter Magni consecrated new bishops to the Church in Sweden. It was through Bishop Peter Magni that the Church of Sweden believes that it has received true Apostolic Succession. This doctrine was not formally adopted as it was by the Church of England. The Swedish Lutheran idea resembles the Presbyterian conception of this doctrine.

Although Sweden was now nominally Lutheran, it was so

¹⁵Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918), pp. 385, 386.

¹⁶C. M. Stephenson, The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1932), p. 1.

only in a very limited sense. The people and the clergy alike were very slow to adopt the doctrine and the practice of Lutheranism. There was a reaction to Romanism during the reign of John the Third (1569 to 1592) but this was ended in 1593 when the Augsburg Confession was officially adopted as the creed of Sweden by the Synod of Upsala.¹⁷

¹⁷C. T. Odhner, Sveriges Historia (Chicago, F. A. Lindberg & Co., 1906), pp. 133-135.

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN SWEDEN AFTER 1593

7. Political Elements of the Reformation

The adoption in 1593 of the Augsburg Confession as the official creed of the State Church of Sweden was closely followed by the edicts of 1604 which deprived the Catholics of public office and banished them from the realm.¹⁸ The Reformation was closely allied with political movements in all of the European states. This has been especially noticeable in the case of England. It was even more true of Sweden than of any other European state including England.¹⁹ Christian II of Denmark had made great efforts to secure the Swedish throne. His chief supporter in Sweden was the Archbishop of Upsala, Gustaf Trolle, who had received from Pope Leo X approval of the

¹⁸Carlton J. H. Hayes, A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe, Vol. I (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), p. 161.

¹⁹Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918), p. 534.

excommunication of his opponents, although their opposition was purely political.²⁰ The Reformation in Sweden included breaking the secular political power of the Roman Church, vesting the King of Sweden with authority over the institutionalized Church with its vast treasures of tradition, removing the power and direct influence of other nations, and encouraging the nationalistic movement to carry the nation to a greater internal coherence.²¹ This adjustment came about very peacefully. Little blood was shed in Sweden as compared with Germany.²² First Christianity itself and then Lutheranism had been introduced by forceful means in Germany and she had not fully accepted either of them. In Sweden, on the other hand, both had been introduced very slowly and peacefully and both were finally accepted by the majority of the population. Lutheranism, cradled in Germany, failed to win Germany, but when it was brought into the Scandinavian countries it flourished until it had conquered all of the Scandinavian lands.²³ This included Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and also Finland, which was then part of the Swedish Monarchy.²⁴

²⁰Ibid.

²¹David Nyvall, The Swedish Covenanters, A History (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1930), p. 17.

²²Marquis W. Child, Sweden The Middle Way (New York: Yale University Press, 1936), p. xiii.

²³Hayes, op. cit., p. 159.

²⁴Walker, op. cit., p. 386.

8. Spiritual Conditions in the State Church

The acceptance of the official religion was a duty which each and every loyal citizen took seriously. As a member of the Swedish Nation, he was a member of the State Church. The State Church, which was Lutheran in fact though not in name, was an institution which he was pledged to uphold at any cost. Being a member of the Church and being a citizen of the State were practically the same thing.²⁵ When the membership of the Church and of the State are identical, then both institutions have their sanction rooted in God's will and their authority in His commands. Lutheranism failed to escape this dilemma and so she could not criticize the State. Calvinism resolved this difficulty, in theory at least, by viewing the Church and the State as two separate societies with two separate functions. Therefore they could include the same geographical area and they could cooperate in many ways.²⁶ But because the Lutheran failed to distinguish between the function of the Church and that of the State, he tended to perform his religious duties in the same perfunctory manner that he paid his taxes. There were certain things which all citizens

²⁵G. L. Stephenson, The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1932), pp. 133, 134.

²⁶John T. McNeill, Christian Love for World Society (Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, 1937), p. 110.

were expected to do. The performance of religious duties was one of them. Naturally, there was lacking a sufficient drive to raise individuals to greater heights of spirituality. This was true of the laity and of the clergy alike.

The main reason for the spiritual laxity of the people was that the clergy were not spiritual.²⁷ It may also be said that the clergy were not spiritual because they were secular officials first, religious leaders second.²⁸ They had so much secular work to do that their religious work was carried on, in the main, in a very formal way. It was dignified but not deep. It failed to reach the springs of deepest feeling. The clergy, it is to be remembered, were not directly responsible to the people. They were responsible to the officials of the State. The ruler of Sweden was the head of the Church of Sweden.²⁹ Besides a lack of responsiveness to the people and to their deepest needs, there was no competition from other churches to spur the clergy on to greater activity.³⁰ The parish system was the prevailing one. It had been the method

²⁷Henry E. Eli, Dr. I. P. Waldenström's Theory of the Atonement (Chicago, 1925), p. 20.

²⁸Stephenson, op. cit., pp. 1, 5.

²⁹David Nyvall, The Swedish Covenanters, A History (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1920), p. 20.

³⁰O. V. Bowman, The Mission Covenant of America (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1926), p. 5.

of the Roman Catholic Church and continued as the system of the State Church of Sweden.

The parish system in itself is not evil. As an organization or individual uses it for good or for evil, so is it either the one or the other. The trouble with the parish system in Sweden was that too many parishes were dominated by non-spiritual persons. For instance, in one parish were some wealthy men who had made their fortunes raising pigs. Since votes were allowed according to wealth, these men were able to pick the parish clergyman for their district. They chose a man distasteful to the poorer people of the parish. He took no notice of the poor. Instead, he drank with the rich. It did not take long for the people to cause quite a stir by referring to the parish priest as the "pig priest" and as the "priest whom the pigs called".³¹

The fact that the people opposed really bad ministers indicates that many of the clergymen were very fine men, which is, of course, true. There were men like Rudbeck and Svedberg who were very spiritual men. Such men gave life to the early State Church of Sweden. They added forms and stability but with it all they maintained beauty and spirituality.³²

³¹Told me by Mr. C. A. Hillberg of Berkeley, California.

³²Nyvall, op. cit., pp. 18, 19.

9. Elements of later dissatisfaction within the Church

In the main, the people were satisfied with the Church as it was. They knew no other church. The Roman Catholic and the Lutheran State Church in Sweden were much the same as far as the people were concerned. There was a radical doctrinal departure in Lutheranism from Catholicism³³ but this had no immediate effect upon the people. Although there was general acceptance and satisfaction with the church, certain elements were present within it which were to be condemned very bitterly when the Great Awakening came in the nineteenth century.

One of these elements was that the established Church did not bring the Gospel to the homes of the people. The people seemed to be well satisfied that their personal lives were not interfered with, yet when the revivals came, they turned against the Church which had been so impersonal in its dealings with them.³⁴

Another factor was that the Church was content to teach principles and forms and ceremonies. These formalities were

³³Stephenson, op. cit., p. 1.

³⁴Ibid., p. 25.

beautiful, they had the grandeur of tradition behind them, but they failed to awaken individuals to fuller lives of true devotion to Christ. Teaching principles, explaining forms, and describing ceremonies are all part of the work of the Christian Church but they are not the primary work which is the regeneration of individuals and of society. Outward forms tend to lose their value and power when they are separated from actual life and from spiritual awareness and become deadening influences.³⁵

Another such element was the preaching of the day. It was scholarly and accurate but it lacked an appeal to the people. There was no simple earnestness that appeals to the entire being of man to act. There was no appeal to a spiritual life. Instead, there was an insistence upon accepting details of doctrine which were all part of God's revelation and therefore must be accepted in order to attain salvation. Such preaching failed to awaken the consciences of the listeners. It was expected that the people would gradually become better because they were gradually being enlightened on all sorts of detail. Instead, the ordinary people became so enmeshed in a maze of detail that all they could do was to acquiesce to what the Church taught them. A simple gospel that called men to repentance and to follow the Christ of faith was almost completely

³⁵Stephenson, op. cit., p. 25.

lacking. The appeal was being made to the authority of the Church through dogma and doctrine. Interest and enthusiasm were being evoked through the sense of the mysterious and the beautiful. Wholehearted consecration was not being given to as great an extent as was desirable for that can only be given freely when the conscience and the deep springs of motivation are touched by an emotional fervor. Such a fervor comes to those who are dominated by a single message and who feel the call from God to proclaim such a message.³⁶ Most of the men lacked that solemn conviction of being divinely called. To them, the ministry was a profession, not a solemn calling to serve God and man in all things spiritual.³⁷ They studied for the ministry as one would study for law or medicine. It had become something quite objective. It was something to know about, in many cases, instead of being something to have and to be. To be a Christian meant to believe certain details and to understand the complexities of various arguments about God and His nature. The clergy were especially interested in abstract arguments about God.³⁸ That was a preliminary to knowing God. Unfortunately, the two were identified. The people wanted to know God. They didn't want to know about His, especially. What they sought was simplicity in gospel preaching.

³⁶Ibid., p. 25.

³⁷Ibid., p. 5.

³⁸Ibid., p. 7.

This continual preaching of detailed doctrine instead of heart-warming messages came to be so prevalent because of the incompetency of the clergy and because of their extreme indifference to the deep needs of the people.³⁹ Since their cottage ministry was so very inadequate, the ministers did not realize that the people wanted a simple message told them on Sundays. This cottage ministry was inadequate partly because some of the parishes were too large but mainly because the clergy were indifferent and were occupied by many secular duties.⁴⁰

Another factor in the situation was the very philosophy upon which a State Church is built. That is, that the primary assumption is made that all members of the State intend to be Christians.⁴¹ This means that the Church includes all people whether they are regenerate or not. In fact, regeneration loses its meaning. Baptism becomes the rite most meaningful in the Church's ministry.⁴² The idea of the "saved" and the "lost" is dropped and instead it becomes a process of enrichment instead of salvation of the individual soul.

³⁹Stephenson, op. cit., p. 7.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 7.

⁴¹John T. McNeill, Christian Hope for World Society (Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, 1927), p. 109.

⁴²Manfred Björquist, "The Idea of a National Church" in The Oxford Conference, Volume V, Church and Community (Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, 1928), p. 119.

This inclusion of all people within the confines of the Church was bound, in time, to disturb those who had experienced what is known as the "new birth". They could not fellowship with unbelievers around the sacred table of the Lord. They were not satisfied that the Church was a fellowship of all people. It was a fellowship of all who had found peace in Christ. That the unregenerate were also seeking to know God, although in a different way, was not understandable to their minds and spirits. This would not have come to be so important if all were permitted to go to church services as they chose for then only those who had some interest in the things of God would attend divine services. It became an issue because all citizens were forced to attend church and every confirmed person required to partake of the Lord's Supper at least once a year in order to maintain his rights and privileges of citizenship.⁴³ The philosophy of the State Church and the philosophy of the Free Church tend to be mutually exclusive. With the first, citizenship and church membership are identified while with the second, citizenship in heaven alone and church membership are identified.

The mixing of the secular and the sacred in the Sunday worship was destined to be another factor in the opposition

⁴³Stephenson, op. cit., p. 2.

which was soon to rise against the State Church. During the service, many notices and official papers were read. Some of these included: "marriage banns, deaths, official documents such as laws and decrees, announcements of auctions, notices of intentions to emigrate to America, reports of escaped convicts, and other items of general interest". These items were generally read so rapidly that only the closest listener knew what was being read.⁴⁴

Of a similar nature was the market held on Sunday. After the morning service, the church-grounds became "a market place where herring, fruits, wheat bread, brännvin (brandy), and many other commodities were sold".⁴⁵ Commercialization of the Sabbath and of Church property has always been looked upon with disfavor by reformers in religion and there was no exception in Sweden. This desecration was looked upon with dislike and was denounced in no uncertain manner.

There is one more factor which entered into the religious picture of Sweden preparing the way for a revival in religion and an opposition to the State Church. This was the fact that

⁴⁴Communication to Jönköpings-Bladet, September 30, 1845, cited by Stephenson, op. cit., p. 4.

⁴⁵Sam A. Johansson, Ur Minnet, (Eksjö: 1911), p. 13, cited by Stephenson, op. cit., p. 4.

devotional literature, the Bible, and religious periodicals were not in general circulation and were not generally read. Religious devotional training was received only in the regular Church services and in the Confirmation class. It has been suggested that the main reason for the deteriorated religious conditions in Sweden was that the Swedish Bible represented a faulty translation.⁴⁶ That is very true. The Bible in common use in Sweden at that time was not a good translation. But it was not read and so it could not have been responsible for a lack of interest in spiritual things. It could not, either, have been responsible for certain doctrinal errors because the scholars who promulgated those particular doctrines obnoxious to certain reformers were not deriving those doctrines from Scripture but from their own particular ideology and were "proving" them by Scripture, which is quite a different thing. However, the 1917 translation of the Bible into Swedish, which is the one commonly used, is a good one. Even so, if we had a "perfect" translation of the Bible, we still would not all agree on doctrinal matters. It is this that makes the lack of devotional reading of the Bible, of religious books and of sermons so important. When reading for devotional purposes is the general practice, then

⁴⁶Henry E. Ek, op. cit., p. 16.

the spiritual life becomes deeper and richer and more spontaneous. It was this fact of little devotional reading by the rank and file, more than faulty translations and inaccurate doctrines, that was responsible for the unspiritual conditions in the Swedish church and among the people. Later, when the reading of devotional materials, especially the Psalms and Luther's Postils, became popular, the spiritual life became greatly strengthened and enhanced.

10. Corroboration from America

It is an interesting fact that the dark picture of religious conditions in Sweden is indirectly corroborated by evidence from America. In 1725 Andreas Hesselius wrote in a short history of the Swedish Church in America that the morals of the Swedes in America were on a very high plane and that, although they lived and worked among the English colonists whose morals were not so high, still he had never heard either God's or the Devil's name used in a profane manner.⁴⁷ This was not true of the Swedes in Sweden nor even of their clergymen. The colonists had difficulty in obtaining pastors from Sweden.⁴⁸ Whenever they sent in a request for pastors, they always asked that the men who were sent should be God-fearing,

⁴⁷Andreas Hesselius, Kort Berettelse, 1725, cited by Jehu Curtis Clay, Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware (Chicago: John Ericsson Memorial Committee, 1938), p. 53.

⁴⁸J. C. Clay, Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware (Chicago: John Ericsson Memorial Committee, 1938), p. 53.

righteous men who did not swear.⁴⁹ The special conditions under which the colonists lived had some influence upon their tendency to strict morals. It does indicate, nevertheless, that they did not expect puritanical men from Sweden unless they asked for them. They did not want fanatics, but they did want devout men as their spiritual leaders. These early Swedish colonists seemed to have kept the devotion due to God and to have continued His worship and adoration in a devout way.⁵⁰ It was not out of external compulsion, for there were no laws compelling them to go to Church, but it came from a sense of responsibility to their God.⁵¹

11. The Reformers and the Church

It is necessary to point out that there was a great deal of good in the State Church. It is self-evident, for all of the critics of the State Church have desired only to reform it and never to leave it. They sought to revive religion in the Church and spiritual life in the heart of each individual.⁵² They had a great faith and confidence in the Church

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 53.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 113.

⁵²E. W. Montgomery, A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway (New York: American Home Missionary Society, Bible House, 1885), p. 28.

of Sweden. They never wanted to leave the Church. When they were forced out, then it became necessary to form new groups for purposes of worship.⁵³ Those who love the Church the most are the ones who want it to be the best. Those who bear the Church the most reverence and appreciation wish it to be the pure instrument of God's might. The Church is God's agency for action in this world. It is because of this conviction that the spiritual reformers were so anxious to cleanse and purify the Church for then, and then alone, could the Church perform its mission in the world. The regeneration of the Church in order to transform society was the hope and desire of Luther.⁵⁴ This regenerating and transforming process was to begin within the Church through teaching and admonishing the members of the Church.⁵⁵ This, as we shall see later, was the same hope and desire and the self-same method used by the spiritual revivalists in Sweden of the nineteenth century.

⁵³Bowman, op. cit., p. 8.

⁵⁴McNeill, op. cit., p. 109.

⁵⁵J. Ernest Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of the Christian Church, trans. Olive Wyon (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), pp. 498, 499.

CHAPTER III

PIETISTIC INFLUENCES ON SWEDEN

12. The Influence of Intellectual and Educational Pietism, Spener, Francke, University of Halle

Formalism in religion was the prevailing thing in the established Churches and in the Universities of Germany and of Sweden after the Reformation had become more or less of an established factor. Here and there in widely scattered places were men in whom a warm spirit of devotion was the main thing rather than an intellectual assent to doctrine. These men had little or no following, they did not mark themselves off as peculiar men, and they were content to do their work and not insist upon others being as they were. Gradually there arose men who could not be quiet about what was in their inmost soul. It was such men who are the forerunners of the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America. Just as Lutheranism came into Sweden by way of Germany, so now, Pietism came in through the work, direct and indirect, of Germans. The most prominent of these men are Spener and Francke and

others who were connected with them through the University of Halle.

Spener

Philip Jacob Spener was born January 13, 1635 at Rappoltswiller in Upper Alsace and died February 5, 1705.⁵⁶ His life had been a stormy one. He was unorthodox and unconventional and all his life he had been exposed to the attacks and abuses of the orthodox Lutheran theologians.⁵⁷ He had no quarrel with Protestant orthodoxy and he did not attack any of the doctrines of traditional Lutheranism. But his attitude and outlook was different from theirs. Purity in the faith was all-important to them; life with Christ for the individual was most important to him.⁵⁸ Purity of the faith meant the guardianship of truth which had been handed down by the Apostles, corrupted by men, almost lost to mankind, found and rewritten in the Confessions of the Reformation. This meant that the Christian must only conform to an external standard, submit to an external authority, unquestionably accept a certain given

⁵⁶"Spener," Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. XXV, 11th ed., pp. 638b, 639a.

⁵⁷ibid., p. 639a.

⁵⁸Arthur Cushman McGiffert, The Rise of Modern Religious Ideas, The Earl Lectures, 1912, Pacific School of Religion (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915), pp. 5, 6.

system of truth, attend public religious services, and participate in established rites.⁵⁹ This was not enough for the true Christian, according to Spener. The true Christian must have a personal experience of conversion and a personal devotion of the heart and life to Christ.⁶⁰ While he was chief pastor at Frankfort-on-the-Main he wrote his two important books, Pia Desideria (1675) and Allgemeine Gottesgelehrtheit (1680). Here it was, also, that he began that form of pastoral work which is now known as German Pietism. This Pietism was nothing new. Its principles had long existed in Lutheran and in Reformed Protestantism, but the Pietism of Spener revived those basic principles and made them live again.⁶¹ In 1686 Spener accepted the first court chaplaincy at Dresden. If Spener had only been content to proclaim and promulgate personal religion and piety, he would have spared himself much trouble. He offended the elector, John George III, with his criticism of the worldliness of the court. He was urged to resign. He refused. Then the court of Brandenburg at Berlin was induced to offer Spener the rectorship of St. Nicholas in Berlin with the title of Konsistorialrat.⁶² He accepted.

⁵⁹ibid., p. 6.

⁶⁰ibid.

⁶¹ibid., p. 5.

⁶²"Spener," op. cit., p. 639.

in order to foster the pious life, he urged, in Pia Desideria, that the Universities stress the devout life and attitude among the students for the ministry rather than any certain amount of factual information.⁶³ He also urged upon the religiously inclined that they form what was called Collegia Pietatis, which were informal gatherings for the study of the Scriptures. These devotional meetings were to be held with or without their pastor.⁶⁴ His desire was to reform public instruction and to revive personal piety.⁶⁵ The people took his ideas seriously and went beyond them. The Collegia Pietatis led to the idea of a congregation within a congregation and his Pia Desideria sanctioned lay preaching. He didn't intend either one.⁶⁶ He was loyal to the Church. But his wish was to set forth the saving power of the Gospel and he could not let that be submerge.⁶⁷ As a result, the lay movement developed these devotional meetings in which the Bible was read and spontaneous prayers were offered. These meetings were effective in reviving personal piety

⁶³David Nyvall, The Swedish Covenanters, A History (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1930), p. 28.

⁶⁴ibid., p. 27.

⁶⁵J. Taylor Hamilton, A History of the Moravian Church (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Company, 1900), p. 3.

⁶⁶Nyvall, op. cit., p. 28.

⁶⁷Hamilton, op. cit., p. 2.

and in spreading the Pietistic movement.⁶⁸ The movement was a more or less spontaneous one. It was the life of the Church breaking through the shell of ecclesiastical conventionality,⁶⁹ as it were, yet men like Spener determined the course of the new life movement. He helped it take a definite form. He drew unto himself leaders among the laity and among the professional religious men. The lay leaders spread the movement from home to home; the professional religious men encouraged it from the pulpit and from the lecture hall. One of the greatest intellectual leaders who followed Spener and helped him was Francke. He did immeasurable service to Pietism by making it intellectually respectable and respected.

Francke

August Hermann Francke was born March 22, 1663 at Lübeck and died June 8, 1727 at Halle. During his university work at Kiel he came under the influence of the Pietist, Christian Kortholt. He had majored in Greek and Hebrew, and, in order to learn Hebrew more thoroughly, he was tutored by Rabbi Ezra Edzardi at Hamburg. After graduation from Leipzig, he became

⁶⁸McGiffert, op. cit., p. 7.

⁶⁹Shailer Mathews, An Outline of Christianity, Vol. III, The Rise of the Modern Churches (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Company, 1926), p. 41.

Privatdozent at that same school in 1685. Under the influence of Spener and with the help of P. Anton, he founded the Collegium philobiblicum where a number of graduates gathered with him for the study of the Bible. They studied the Bible from both the systematic textual side and also from the practical side.⁷⁰ That they studied the Bible in order to gain practical help for everyday Christian living indicates that Francke was beginning to follow the ideas of Pietism. It was soon after this that he became the assistant to superintendent C. H. Sandhagen (1639-1697). Francke's religious life was remarkably quickened and deepened while working with Sandhagen.⁷¹ From the work at Lüneberg with Sandhagen he taught in a private school for a time. He then had a long visit with Spener who was court preacher at Dresden. In the spring of 1689 he went back to Leipzig where he gave Bible lectures and resumed the Collegia Philobiblicum of earlier days. He became very popular as a lecturer. But the peculiarities of his teaching aroused the opposition of the authorities at Leipzig. He was prohibited from lecturing on the basis of his Pietism.⁷² In this way, Francke's name was first publicly associated with

⁷⁰"Francke," Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. XI, 11th ed., p. 4.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid., p. 5.

Spener and with Pietism.⁷³ In 1690 Francke found work at Erfurt as deacon in one of the city churches. His great fervor attracted crowds to his preaching. Many Roman Catholics were among his listeners. But the orthodox clergy still opposed him and after only fifteen months of ministry he was commanded on September 27, 1691, by the civil authorities to leave Erfurt within forty-eight hours. This is the same year that Spener was removed from Dresden by being promoted to Konsistorialrat in Berlin. In this position, and through his own personal powers, Spener was able to choose many of the men who were being called to occupy chairs in the University of Halle which was then being organized. Francke was the first one called. He accepted the chair of Greek and Oriental Languages. This was in December, 1691, which was almost three years before the University of Halle was officially opened. Since Francke's new position carried no salary with it, he was also appointed to the pastorate of Glaucha which was not far from the town of Halle. For thirty-six years he filled these two positions of teacher and preacher.⁷⁴ In 1698 he became Professor of Theology instead of Professor of Greek and Oriental Languages. He placed great emphasis upon a sound exegesis

⁷³Ibid., p. 5a.

⁷⁴Ibid.

of Scripture. Reading and expounding and interpreting the Old and New Testaments is the basis of a sound theology, in his estimate. His favorite expression was "Theology is born in Scripture" (*Theologia nascitur in Scripturis*).⁷⁵

University of Halle

The University which was destined to be, for a time, the center for the spread of Pietism came into being partly because of the rivalry between conservative Saxony and progressive Brandenburg and partly because the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg wanted a centrally located university. The University at Königsberg was too far away from their immediate influence.⁷⁶ Spener was able to take advantage of the situation and to induce the Elector of Brandenburg to establish the University at Halle. Beginnings were made in 1691 with the appointment of Francke to a chair. A Ritteracademie, already existing, was taken over. The school was officially opened in 1694 as the University of Halle. There were over seven hundred students in attendance. Two men, Thomasius and Francke, were responsible for making it a very progressive school and

⁷⁵ibid., p. 5.

⁷⁶"Halle," The New International Encyclopedia, Vol. X, p. 601b.

earning for it the title of the first modern university.⁷⁷ From the beginning, Halle has been one of the leading theological schools of Germany. It has never lost this honor though it changed from its original pietism to a bold rationalism in the latter half of the eighteenth century.⁷⁸ For almost a century, the University of Halle was the center from which Pietism spread throughout Germany until it was dominant, although orthodoxy did its utmost to stamp it out.⁷⁹ On the faculty at Halle were men like-minded with Spener and Francke such as Breithaupt and Anton. At other German universities were men of Pietistic tendencies. These included such persons as Buddaeus at the University of Jena and Bengel and Pfaff at the University of Tübingen.⁸⁰

13. The Influence of Emotional Pietism, Zinzendorf and the Moravians

The Pietism of the University of Halle type was an emotional one which laid claim to an intellectual basis and which came from leaders who were intellectual men, primarily.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Mathews, op. cit., p. 41.

⁸⁰Hamilton, op. cit., p. 5.

The Pietism of Moravianism is an emotional one with its roots in the emotions and with leaders who were more emotional than they were intellectual. The Moravians were a persecuted people. They were dependent upon spiritual resources more than upon mental processes for the only way, for the immediate occasion of persecution, in which they could rise above the difficulties of their position was to depend absolutely upon God. In themselves, they could do nothing. With God, they could do all things. It was natural that emotional rather than intellectual Pietism became characteristic of the Moravians.

Zinzendorf

Nicholaus Ludwig Zinzendorf, Count of Zinzendorf and Potterdorf was born at Dresden on May 26, 1700⁸¹ and died May 9, 1760.⁸² Zinzendorf's parents belonged to the Pietistic circle. His godfather was Spener. His schooldays were spent in Halle right in the midst of Pietistic influences. When he was sixteen he went to the University of Wittenberg to study law and prepare himself for a diplomatic career.

⁸¹"Zinzendorf," Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. XXIII, 14th ed., p. 953b.

⁸²Ibid., p. 954.

Three years later he was sent to travel in Holland, France, and in different parts of Germany. During a long visit at Castell with relatives, he fell in love with his cousin, Theodora. Her mother objected to the match and Theodora married Count Henry of Reuss. Zinzendorf took this as a special call from God to devote himself to a special work for God. He settled down on his estate at Bertheldorf intending to carry into practice the Pietistic ideas of Spener. In order to promote a revival of religion, Zinzendorf and three others, Rothe, Melchior, and von Watteville, banded themselves together under the name of "The Band of Four Brothers". One of the first things they did was to print books, tracts, catechisms, collections of hymns, and cheap Bibles which they distributed as widely as possible.⁸³ Spener's friend, Count Hildebrand von Canstein, with the help of Francke, had established a Bible House and Society in 1710 to print and circulate cheap editions of the Scriptures. The edition put out by von Canstein's Bible House sold for eight cents for the New Testament and about twenty-five cents for the entire Bible.⁸⁴ Zinzendorf followed Spener and the main body of Pietistic thought. However, he differed in one essen-

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴J. N. Lenker, Lutherans in All Lands (Milwaukee, Wis.: Lutherans in All Lands Company, 1896), p. 96.

tial. He felt that true Christianity would be best promoted by free associations of Christians. In the course of time, these associations would become organized into Churches but without State connections.⁸⁵ The Pietists, as a group, have usually believed that they were called to be a leaven within the established Church. They have never wished to be Separatists. The Church is holy. They have wanted it to be so both in heaven and on earth. But to Zinzendorf the true Church was not the confessional churches but the body of believers within the various congregations who were, as a rule, Pietists. It is with this group that Zinzendorf felt himself called to labor.⁸⁶ The idea of the Pure Church was a realizable ideal, according to Zinzendorf. That ideal came to play a significant part in the spread of Pietism later on in Sweden.

The Moravians

A new opportunity for carrying into practice the ideas and ideals of Spener came with the arrival of the Moravians at Bertheldorf. Exiled for their faith from Moravia and

⁸⁵"Zinzendorf," op. cit., p. 954a.

⁸⁶J. Taylor Hamilton, A History of the Moravian Church (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Company, 1900), p. 11.

seeking refuge from persecution, Zinzendorf's aid came to them as divine help in the time of need. Zinzendorf had a village built for them on a corner of his estate. The town was called Herrnhut.⁸⁷ It was from the revivals which began here at Herrnhut that the modern missionary movement had its start. It was the "witness spirit" which they had received and carried with them from lands of persecution that was at the bottom of the missionary movement which they started.⁸⁸ This spirit of witnessing was reinforced by Zinzendorf's insistence that Christians must carry out the Lord's command to preach the good news of the Kingdom. The spirit was there and so was the obligation. The mission movement began.⁸⁹ Their missionaries carried with them certain basic doctrines. These include, "faith in God, acceptance of Jesus Christ as the Redeemer, dependence on the Holy Scriptures as the Word of God and Revelation of His will, the brotherhood of believers, and religion effective in everyday life".⁹⁰ This last tenet links Moravianism and Pietism inseparably. That is, Moravianism is Pietistic even though it is not, necessarily, Pietism itself.

⁸⁷"Herrnhut," Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. XI, p. 519b.

⁸⁸Hamilton, op. cit., p. 66.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 160.

⁹⁰Adelaide L. Fries, Some Moravian Heroes (Bethlehem: The Comenius Press, 1936), p. 34.

CHAPTER IV

SWEDISH ORIGINS OF THE COVENANT

14. Herrnhutism and Pietism Entered Sweden

A society of Moravians (a Diaspora) had existed in Copenhagen since 1731. Their movement spread into Fünen, Jutland, Norway, and Sweden.⁹¹ The Moravians went to Sweden in 1734 to start a mission among the Lapps resident there. But, at the request of the State Church, the Moravians did not establish a work there at that time.⁹² In 1740 Dober and Graden carried on evangelistic work in Norway and Sweden.⁹³ Anders Carl Rutström, an active Herrnhutist, was banished from Sweden in 1765.⁹⁴ As both Herrnhutism and Pietism spread in Sweden, opposition arose, for they were active, tended to sectarianism,

⁹¹J. Taylor Hamilton, A History of the Moravian Church (Bethlehem, Pa.: Times Publishing Co., 1900), p. 193.

⁹²Ibid., p. 62.

⁹³Ibid., p. 97.

⁹⁴George H. Stephenson, Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1932), p. 27.

and because they had a tendency to be independent of the clergy in supplying their spiritual needs.⁹⁵ These two spiritual forces were gradually entering Sweden in a myriad of ways. All conditions seemed to be conniving together to bring in Pietism. For instance, after the battle of Fultava, in the war with Russia, many Swedish soldiers were taken prisoner and sent to Siberia. Here they came under the influence of a German Christian officer who had been converted through reading Pietistic literature. This Christian officer started a school in Tabolsk for the imprisoned Swedish children. He also held Bible study classes and prayer meetings with the prisoners. This resulted in a revival in which a number of the Swedish prisoners were converted.⁹⁶ The return of these soldiers to different parts of Sweden, especially to the North, plus the gradual infiltration of Herrnhutism and of Pietism through different means, plus the citizens who were naturally Pietistic all acted as a leaven which spread throughout a great part of Sweden. These movements were one in objecting to the worldliness of the clergy and the leaders were pietistic and devout.⁹⁷ Since most of Sweden had been

⁹⁵David Nyvall, The Swedish Covenanters, A History (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1930), p. 29.

⁹⁶C. V. Bowman, The Mission Covenant of America (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1935), p. 7.

⁹⁷Stephenson, op. cit., p. 8.

Norrland

The revivals in Sweden of the early eighteenth century began in the province of Norrland.⁹⁹ This is a sparsely settled, remote part of Sweden up close to the Arctic circle. Distances to the churches were great for the parishes were large. Each community, in addition, was set off from the others by the deep forest, so they seemed to be completely separated. It was difficult to get to church. Many people considered themselves fortunate if they were able to attend church once or twice a year.¹⁰⁰ Many of the converts from the Russian prison camp in Siberia had gone back into Norrland when they were released and had been holding meetings in their homes.¹⁰¹ Conversions took place at these meetings. The meetings continued and increased. More and more were held with increasing attendance at each one. The people themselves were not fanatics.¹⁰² They were characterized by their pious and devout living and by their love of Bible study and of devotional literature reading. Luther's works were

⁹⁹C. V. Bowman, Missionsvännerna i Amerika (Minneapolis: Veckoblad Publishing Company, 1907), p. 2.

¹⁰⁰Stephenson, op. cit., p. 27.

¹⁰¹C. V. Bowman, The Mission Covenant of America (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1925), p. 7.

¹⁰²Stephenson, op. cit., p. 27.

so popular among them that they were derisively called Luter-läsare (readers of Luther). They were more commonly called läsare (readers).¹⁰³ They tended to shun the fellowship of the ungodly.¹⁰⁴ They spent as much time as possible with others who were like-minded with themselves. Spener had done just this himself. He fellowshipped with all who had experienced regeneration and were living lives that showed forth the fact of the new birth. It made no difference to him if they were members of other branches of the Christian Church. But he disdained the company of those who were not reborn. He had little in common with them. The pietistic "readers" in the northern part of Sweden were unconsciously following Spener. They were doing it because their position was much the same as his had been. They were misunderstood, they were ridiculed, and they felt that they had something precious which the others did not have. So it was with Spener, also. It was natural that the "readers" of northern Sweden should seek out the companionship of like-minded people and shun the fellowship of the more worldly-minded. These devout Christians held their services in a very orderly manner. But several of the pastors of the State Church were very

¹⁰³C. V. Bowman, Missionsvännerna i Amerika (in Swedish: Veckoblad Publishing Company, 1907), p. 2.

¹⁰⁴Stephenson, op. cit., p. 28.

much opposed to these informal religious gatherings and imposed the Conventicle Acts against them. These laws prohibited all but officially recognized pastors in the State Church from conducting religious services. Violation of the law was punishable by imprisonment and by fine. This was designed as a control measure. The clergy feared services that were irregular. Their system depended, so they thought at least, upon uniformity.¹⁰⁵ They would have done better had they depended upon unity. In order to maintain uniformity, the State Church clergy invoked the Conventicle Acts against the Norrland Läsare and they in turn opposed the Church and finally organized societies of their own for religious worship.¹⁰⁶ This same thing occurred in many places over a period of about one hundred years. That is, roughly speaking, from about the time of the Norrland Läsare until the time of the Mission Covenant.

Gamla

The Läsare of Sweden have often been divided into two main groups. The first one is the Gamla (Old) and the second

¹⁰⁵Stephenson, op. cit., p. 11.

¹⁰⁶C. V. Bowman, The Mission Covenant of America (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1925), p. 8.

group is the Nya (New). The "old readers", as we may call them, refers to the earliest group. They included the "readers" in all parts of Sweden at the end of the eighteenth century. The gammalläsare included a fairly large group. Statistics are not available as to their number. Since they held their meetings (Conventicles as they were designated in the laws passed against them) in private homes, it is useless to guess at their number. But they did include a great number of the people, and they were able to wield a considerable influence.

Nya

A new group of Läsare arose with new times and new influences. These were called Nya Läsare (New Readers). They date from the early nineteenth century. They were influenced by Methodism from England. They represented a reaction against the gloomy theology of the gamalläsare;¹⁰⁷ they were more radical than the older type; they tended toward separation from the State Church; and they were very critical of the new catechism which was adopted in 1810, of the new hymnal adopted in 1811, and of the new hymnal adopted in 1819. They detected in these books traces of rationalism and of a sub-

¹⁰⁷Stephenson, op. cit., p. 53.

stitution of good works for the grace of God.

16. Spontaneous Revivals in Sweden

Numerous revivals sprang up almost spontaneously from about 1800 and on in Sweden. The seed that had been sown was bearing fruit. It is not possible to trace all of the revivals to their roots. Many of the revivals resulted in the formation of societies and groups for the worship of God in whatever way they saw fit. They became conscious of their special identity when they were nicknamed and made fun of in various ways. Some of the groups were fanatical and went to great extremes. Most of them were very quiet and devout. Making a show of themselves was the one thing which they did not want. They were loyal to the State Church. They did not want to show off how much different they were from the orthodox. They wanted to show that piety was part of Lutheran orthodoxy. The fact that many of the groups that arose during this time were radical and fanatical tended to accentuate the differences between the revival groups and the orthodox groups. It is unfortunate that the more conservative groups did not have the opportunity to work within the State Church for a longer time. But their hand was forced by the fanatics and, in turn, by the orthodox. This meant that the revivals were to bring with them a definite split with the State Church. This was unfortunate, but it was impossible

to avoid for both the fanatics and the conservatives were anxious to see the revivals succeed. If their relationship with the State Church suffered, then it was a sign of the hand of God and there was nothing they could do about it. The important thing was that God should live in and through the lives of the people. The emphasis was upon conversion. That came first. If it were possible to retain the old and the time honored, that should be done. It was desired. The institutional church was important in their lives. So it was with profound regret that they severed relations with the established Church, when they were forced to leave it. The revival movements of the first half of the nineteenth century were essentially lay movements. Here and there were a few of the regular pastors of the State Church helping and fostering the revivals. But they were in a minority. Most of the clergy opposed the revivals.¹⁰⁸

17. Various Revival Movements

The predikosjukan, that is the "preaching sickness", was an outgrowth of the religious ecstasy in the province of Småland. It was the most spectacular result of the revivals. It spread from Småland to Västergötland, Värmland and to other

¹⁰⁸C. V. Bowman, The Mission Covenant of America (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1925), p. 6.

provinces. It was the most acute in Jönköpings län. It was usually known as the "Småland preaching sickness".¹⁰⁹ This phenomenon reached all sorts of people. There were those who had been under pietistic influences who were affected by the "sickness". These were some who had heard the Methodist revivalist, George Scott, and had heard other revival preachers. Many of the revival preachers in this region had been influenced by revival literature from America. Then there were people who had never been influenced by any of the pietistic or revivalistic movements. People from all of these groups were seized by the "preaching sickness".¹¹⁰ The "sermons" of these people who were seized by the "preaching sickness" consisted of "simple admonitions to repentance and the renunciation of sins such as card-playing, dancing, drunkenness, and pride".¹¹¹ The people who were taken by the sickness were looked upon as holy people. Many of them were the victims of various physical oddities during their seizure. Some of them barked like dogs; many shouted and sang; others jumped and rolled; some of them jerked; but most of them

¹⁰⁹Stephenson, op. cit., p. 29.

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 30.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 31

were sad and given to worrying about their burden of sins and about the salvation of others.¹¹² There have been different explanations offered as to the reasons for these peculiar manifestations. Most of them are from physicians who base their conclusions upon strictly physical reasons. But the release of physical powers in such ways has a psychic source. The other group of peculiar actions common to those afflicted by the "preaching sickness" was that of going into trances and seeing vision. Obviously, the answer must come, unless we dismiss it by saying that it was a manifestation of the Holy Spirit, from the psychologist. Then the answer would be that powers were released which the individual was powerless to control. Those are powers which only a deep-rooted religious conviction can release. Those powers come from God. Beyond that, one can say little else. This was not an event isolated in history. It has occurred many times in many different nations.¹¹³ This "preaching sickness" was the most acute in the years 1841 and 1842, but it continued into the sixties and the seventies.¹¹⁴ Whatever the reasons,

¹¹²ibid., p. 31.

¹¹³ibid., p. 32.

¹¹⁴ibid.

the fact remains that the people were greatly moved by the evangelistic preachers. They were part of the great movement that was to grow into a mighty revival in Sweden. The change it brought about inaugurated a new day in Sweden's religious development.¹¹⁵ These people were repentant of their past lives.¹¹⁶ They were hungering for peace in their souls, and they found it.¹¹⁷ These are the two elements of all revivals. The movement had many abnormal features connected with it. But its moral motive was high. Much higher than the witchcraft of the eighteenth century, boastfully called the Century of Enlightenment.¹¹⁸

Eric-Jansonism had its origin in Norrland about the same time as the predikosjukan was beginning. They were both movements of the early forties. Eric Janson was a lover of solitude in his boyhood. He preferred to think about himself rather than to work and play with the neighbor boys. He was converted at the age of twenty-two. He began to preach, to write religious verse, to read religious writings and he continued to farm. He was a good farmer. By the age of thirty he owned his own farm. On October 1, 1840, Eric Janson and

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 33.

¹¹⁶Nyvall, op. cit., p. 36.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 38.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 37.

his youngest brother made a trip to Upsala where they sold some cattle. The conduct of the people at the market made such an impression upon Janson that he became convinced that it was his mission to preach repentance. He began to preach at conventicles. He had the confidence of the parish priest. When the authorities learned of this, they transferred the priest to another parish. The new clergyman was not opposed to Janson at first. But Janson gradually accepted "the tenet that through faith in Christ a person is freed not only from the consequences of sin but from sin itself, that is, a converted person has no sin, because Christ has taken away all sin."¹¹⁹ He thus denied the distinction between justification and sanctification, which is a particularly important Lutheran doctrine. The new priest, partly as a result of Janson's falling away from Lutheranism, became his bitter enemy. The gamalläsare had accepted all of the Lutheran doctrines. They tended to overemphasize the gloomy side of religion--that the soul was in constant danger of falling from grace into condemnation. Janson's emphasis upon perfection came as a summer day after a snowstorm. He gathered many followers from those who had been depressed over much by the constant peril in which the Christian was always

¹¹⁹Stephenson, op. cit., p. 52.

involved. Janson's idea that the Christian was free from sin was eagerly welcomed. Janson had now moved to Forsa in Northern Sweden. He gathered most of his disciples from Halsingland and from Dalarna and other regions nearby. Norrland had already shown a tendency to separatism. They had been the first ones to oppose the new books adopted by the State Church. Janson urged his followers to set themselves apart as a sect. Then he went the next step. He forbade them to attend services in the State Church. The religious books, that had been dear to him he now cast off as works of the Devil. He himself received revelations, cast out devils, performed miracles, and prophesied. He traveled extensively in the northern parts of Sweden. People came to look upon him as the Messiah. He caused a great number of devotional books, all of which were Lutheran, to be burned at a great ceremony on the shores of a lake in Alfta parish. He was imprisoned for this act of defiance. They released him shortly on condition that he would not visit any parish in Gävleborgs län.¹²⁰ A highly colored account of this event was written up in which Janson was made out to be a martyr. "At their meetings the 'History of the Passion of Eric Janson' was read."¹²¹ Eric

¹²⁰ibid., pp. 53, 54.

¹²¹ibid., p. 54.

Janson was in constant trouble with the authorities from this time on. A widespread exodus to America began in the summer of 1846. About 1500 of his followers left Sweden during the period from 1846 to 1848. The movement was fanatical and drastic. Few Jansonists were left in Sweden after the great exodus. It sprang up like a mushroom. It died out rapidly after all of the leaders and most of the adherents went to America.¹²² Unfortunately, many läsare were identified with the Jansonists. This name they repudiated. They accepted many other nicknames. They could not countenance this one. There were too many differences between them. There were points of similarity. For instance, they were both lay movements; they were both opposed by the orthodox clergy; they were both emphasizing repentance, but they were different in spirit and in fundamental beliefs. The Jansonists flouted the State Church and held their services at the same hour as the regular church services were held. The läsare held the Church in high esteem and held their meetings at other hours than the regular worship time. The Jansonists were belligerent. They opposed their persecutors by bringing suits and countersuits against them. The läsare preferred to stay out of all court trials. They believed that it was wrong to make

¹²²Ibid., p. 56.

a civil conflict out of a religious problem. It was converts that they wanted, not conflict.¹²³ The Jansonists threw away the Lutheran devotional books. The läsare held most dear, next to the Bible, just these devotional books of Luther, of Linderoth, and of Mohrborg. The Jansonists emphasized the perfection of the Christian. He was not accountable for his sins committed before his conversion; he could not sin after he had been converted. He was sin-free. The läsare preachers were soundly Lutheran. They preached a daily repentance for sins and for short-comings. They went on to preach a growth in grace, a gradual development of the Christian in the likeness of Christ, into the fullness of the man of God.

The Baptist movement is a result of English Methodism and of American Baptists. Because of the work done by the English Methodist missionary, George Scott, it was possible for the Baptist Church to enter Sweden and to grow. Almost every Baptist missionary to Sweden had heard George Scott preach and had gained great inspiration from his messages. America had the greatest influence upon the Baptist movement in Sweden. The inspiration of free America, where the soul could worship God with all the passion his spirit possessed, was encouraging to those bound and shackled by a

¹²³Ibid., p. 53.

State Church. Most of the leaders in the Baptist revivals in Sweden had been converted in America and had received their training in America. American money financed various institutions and American money helped maintain mission places until they became strong and virile and large enough to be self-sustaining. There was a very close relationship between the Baptists in Sweden and in America. The only ones who maintained a closer contact and brotherliness were the Mission Friends.¹²⁴ The Baptists carried on a very sane, efficient ministry in Sweden. They introduced the Sunday School in 1855. This was the result of American influences. Shortly afterwards they began the publication of a Sunday School paper called the Bikupan (Beehive). This paper told a great deal about American religious and secular conditions. They organized their congregations together into a Conference in June, 1857; in 1866, they organized a seminary; and by the seventies they were publishing five different church papers. Because of the strong organization of the Baptists, they were a greater problem to the authorities than were the läsare or the Eric-Jansonists. Most of the Eric-Jansonists were gone by this time. The läsare were poorly organized except where they joined other groups. Then, of course, they went under the name

¹²⁴Ibid., pp. 74, 75.

of the Baptists or Mormons or Methodists or whatever it happened to be.¹²⁵

The Mormons entered Sweden in the fifties and the sixties. They opposed the doctrine of infant baptism, as did the Baptists, and so they were often mistaken for Baptists. They opposed the parish priest as a worshipper of Mammon, while the Mormon missionaries made a great deal of the fact that they were traveling about without purse or scrip. Then they quoted prophecies of the second coming of Christ. These prompted the question, How shall I flee from wrath on that day? The answer was, Flee to Zion where plenty of land awaits which one can cultivate while awaiting His return in power and majesty. Most of the converts they made were from the ranks of those who were the most spiritually inclined. Many of these had been läsare. A large proportion of the converts were women.¹²⁶ These two factors; (1) that the faithful should flee to Zion which was in America and (2) that many of the converts were women; led to opposition from all groups. The orthodox clergy and the unorthodox laymen both opposed the Mormons. Stories were spread about how the Mormons were coming to lure away young girls to carry them to America. There they would

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 89.

¹²⁶Ibid., pp. 94, 95.

be forced into polygamous marriages. Young Swedish girls feared the Mormon missionaries so much that when they did migrate to America, their most common prayer enroute was that God would protect them from the Mormons in America.¹²⁷ The Mormons have not obtained official recognition as a religious organization, although the law of 1873 provides for recognition of religious groups, if they are considered worthy in all respects.¹²⁸ The Mormons are well organized. They translated the Book of Mormon into Swedish in 1851. They began publishing a periodical, Skandinavisk Stjerne (Star of Scandinavia), the same year in Copenhagen, changed its name in 1877 to Nordstjärnan (Star of the North), and moved its office of publication to Stockholm in 1905. The Book of Doctrine and Covenants, the hymn book, and a pamphlet, A Voice from the Land of Zion were all published in 1852. The Mormon mission had begun with the arrival of four missionaries in 1850 in Copenhagen. Three of them stayed in Denmark, one of them went to Sweden. The Swedish work of the Mormons was closely connected with the work in Denmark. Most of the Swedish converts were made in the sixties in Ålâne which is near Denmark.¹²⁹

¹²⁷Information from Mrs. Ellen U. Johnson, Fresno, California.

¹²⁸Stephenson, op. cit., p. 97.

¹²⁹ibid., p. 96.

The Methodist revivals did more for the spiritual life of the nation of Sweden than for the Methodist Church as an organization. Great revivals had swept over England because of the work of John Wesley. The converted Englishmen felt a strong desire to extend the work. An English businessman went to Sweden about 1822 regarding some business matters. He was not able to find any truly spiritual men among the English in Stockholm. He wrote to the Wesleyan Mission Company in England and asked that a missionary be sent to work among his countrymen in Stockholm. In 1830, the Rev. George Scott was sent.¹³⁰ He arrived in August of that year and took up his work which was, officially, that of chaplain to English workingmen employed by Samuel Owen who was a manufacturer living in Stockholm. Meanwhile Joseph Rayner Stephens had been preaching to the men four years previously. Stephens stayed on a short time working with Scott. George Scott was an evangelist of the Methodist revival type. Within twelve months he learned Swedish well enough to preach to large crowds of Stockholmers. He was a tireless laborer in revival work in Sweden. He organized missionary societies, established a paper, wrote articles, made untold visits, contacted prominent churchmen, and received the favor

¹³⁰C. V. Bowman, The Mission Covenant of America
(Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1925), p. 9.

of the King and of members of the nobility.¹³¹ Scott did not confine himself to his own people. He found a greater and a more responsive field among the Swedes of Stockholm. The humble people heard him with hearts aglow. The wealthy and the noble born became, as time went on, the targets for his criticism. He opposed the worldliness of the clergy. That, especially, was counter to his conception of the Christian ministry. In 1837 he had visited England to raise money for a chapel. All had gone well on that trip. But in 1841 he went to America to gather funds so that he could continue the work. In his speeches about Sweden he made certain statements that offended the Swedes. The statements in their context were correct. But taken out of their context they made the situation in Sweden seem to be terrible. Religious conditions were not good, nor were they wholly evil. Those statements seemed to say that Sweden was totally depraved. When those isolated clippings were sent back to Sweden, the clergy were infuriated. Scott went back to Sweden to continue his work. But it was only a question of time before we was forced to leave. Even without the American statements against him, he would have had to discontinue his work in Sweden. On Palm Sunday, 1842, a mob broke up his services in the chapel at the

¹³¹Stephenson, op. cit., pp. 12, 13.

Haymarket. Scott barely escaped with his life. Scott announced that his services in the chapel were at an end, and he soon left. In 1859 he returned for a short visit and was received by the authorities with the utmost courtesy. Scott had aimed to revitalize the Lutheran Church. He had made no attempts to establish the Methodist Church. He had constantly opposed the American Methodists who were openly trying to build up a separate denomination.¹³² Now that Scott was gone, the work of the Methodist Church as a separate denomination went on with increasing vigor. The founding of the Methodist Church in Sweden has its beginning with Olof Gustaf Hedström. He left Sweden when he was twenty-two. He was a sailor aboard a ship bound for South America. The trip was abandoned in New York and the sailors released. Hedstrom worked at his trade of tailor. He married an American woman. Shortly afterward he was converted to Methodism. He was so enthused that he went back, in 1833, to Sweden to tell his parents the good news of a new life in Christ. His brother, Jonas, returned to America with him. Jonas became the founder of Swedish Methodism in America. Olof Gustaf established an immigrant mission in New York, where he met the newly arrived immigrants from Sweden. His activity in New York

¹³²Ibid., pp. 14, 15.

soon bore rich fruit abroad. The first Methodist missionaries to Sweden from America had been converted through his efforts. Their work in Sweden was so successful that by January 8, 1868 a congregation was organized in Stockholm with 57 members.

On September 17, 1868 the Swedish Methodist Missionary Society was organized. There were then seven organized congregations, fifteen preaching places, 424 members, and five Sunday schools with 34 teachers and 354 children in the Sunday schools. In January, 1869, they began to publish a Sunday school paper, Söndagsskolklockan (Sunday School Bell), and a monthly, Lilla Sändebudet (The Little Messenger). The name of the latter was changed to Svenska Sändebudet (Swedish Messenger) in 1881.

Pamphlets, books, and a hymn book were soon published by the Methodist Press in Sweden.¹³² In 1876 the yearly conference was established at Upsala. The Methodist Ministers had gained the right to perform marriages in 1873. A seminary was established in Orebro in 1873; it was moved to Upsala and then to Gothenburg. The Methodist Church in Sweden is under the supervision of an American bishop who maintains his office in Stockholm. Methodist pastors have done an intensive work in Sweden. But they have not been very successful in gaining members. The system is not as democratic as the State Church system, the

¹³²Ibid., pp. 120, 121.

ministers are appointed by the conference while the local voters elect their parish pastors, and Methodism is foreign while the State Church and the Läsare movements are all native to Sweden.¹³⁴ Methodism in Sweden came in late. It was not at the forefront in the beginning. Whatever growth it will have in the future will depend upon the character and consistency of its leaders.

18. The Organization of Mission Societies within the State Church

The spiritual revivals of the nineteenth century in Sweden tended towards schism from the State Church. A number of the revival groups, such as the Jansonists, the Baptists, the American Methodists, and the Mormons, openly advocated separation. The groups which were steadfast Läsare held fast to the State Church and to Lutheran doctrine. The separatists were, in the main, those who held doctrines significantly different from the basic Lutheran doctrines. The Christians in Sweden who belonged to the pietistic tradition were faithful to the Church of Sweden.¹³⁵ They were regular in

¹³⁴Ibid., pp. 122, 123.

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 26.

church attendance and read Lutheran devotional books. These who held fast to the State Church gained the confidence and the good will and the help of the more spiritually inclined clergymen.¹³⁶ Even after the Conventicle Acts were imposed against them, some of the regular preachers kept up their revivalistic preaching. They were ordered to preach from their manuscripts. They went back to their manuscripts, but they added spontaneous remarks and comments all along. Even in their Scripture reading they would add comments between the lines. Their preaching affected the people and many converts were won by their preaching. One of these men was Anders Mohrberg (1725-1771). His booklet, Way to salvation for Fallen Man, was almost as influential as the German postils and was about as popular. He was a staunch Lutheran in his theology with a message to hungry souls. Another loyal Lutheran who was a revival preacher was Anders Elving (1745-1772). He was a fiery, magnetic preacher from Småland. He came to Stockholm to preach. There many of the physical aspects of the prediko-sjukan were manifest among his listeners. Many in his audience swooned, but many more confessed their sins and were saved.¹³⁷

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 26.

¹³⁷Nyvall, op. cit., p. 22.

Lars Linderot (1761-1811) was revivalist and hymn writer both.¹³⁸ One of his songs, I Sing of the Victory, rejoices that his soul has found peace at the Cross of Jesus.¹³⁹ Another one, Faith's Struggle, emphasizes the constant struggle which the faithful Christian must undergo.¹⁴⁰ Eternal blessedness depends upon faithfulness to our trust. This song is put to music from the popular Swedish music of the day. It has a rhythm and a swing quite different from the psalm tunes used in the regular services of the State Church. It was quite an innovation to use popular music in the service of their religion. Luther had done it; the Wesleys had made use of livelier tunes and songs; and Moody and Sankey had built their revival fires in the hearts of men through songs that caught the entire being. The revivals in Sweden used popular music too, but not to the extent that it was utilized in America. The Swedes are conservative. Linderot himself did not depart from his basic Lutheranism. He was modest in his use of popular tunes. Throughout his life he used only tunes that fit the worship service. Another revival preacher was also from Småland. He was Per Tolleson (1747-1821). His family relations

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 22.

¹³⁹Stora Basun (Chicago: Svenska Kv. Missionsförbundet i Amerika, 1909), p. 249.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 268, 269.

were unfortunate. As a revivalist, he had a long and a very successful career. Many were born into the Kingdom through his ministry.¹⁴¹ Henrik Schartau (1757-1825) was a teacher and a personal advisor. He was able to give definite answers to thousands who came to him for advice. In that way he was able to lead many to a personal knowledge of Jesus Christ. All people came to him with their religious problems, the laborer and the intellectual, the business man and the professional. He helped them all. In his preaching and teaching he was legalistic. He wrote The Order of Grace which was a progressive and successive development of the steps toward freedom of the soul and perfection of the person. He claimed his authority from the Word of God and from reason. He stated it in this way: "Nothing against the Word of God; nothing beyond the Word of God; nothing against reason."¹⁴² His inclusion of reason as a valid part of the Christian's life is significant. The famous formula of Alexander Campbell, the great leader of the Disciples of Christ, leaves out reason. It says, "Where the Bible speaks, we speak; where it is silent, we are silent." Yet America can boast few leaders of new religious movements who were intellectually on an equal with Campbell. Peter Per Waldenström, the intellectual leader of

¹⁴¹Nyvall, op. cit., p. 23.

¹⁴²ibid.

the Mission Friends in Sweden, coined a phrase which became the battle cry of freedom for the Mission Friends in Sweden. It was, "Where is it written", meaning, of course, where in the Bible is your doctrinal point stated? The original leaders of the Pietists, of the Läsare, and of the Mission Friends did not oppose the use of reason. But the overdependence upon rational processes to the exclusion of faith and utter belief was what they came to oppose until they began to oppose all who claimed knowledge beyond the knowledge received through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and by reading the Word of God. Schartau lived most of his life near the cathedral church of Lund. He was in close contact with education. As a result, he was very well balanced religiously. He had a warm spirit of pietistic devotion to God, a love of humanity which made him the foremost father-confessor in Sweden. and a love of learning that made him respect the learned clergy and professors in Sweden. He himself was a learned man. Everyone of these Lutheran revival preachers had a profound respect for sound learning. Jacob Otto Hoof was another fervent preacher of the gospel. He was born in 1768 and converted in 1808. He had been a preacher in Västergötland long before he was converted. His is an extreme example. He was one of the worst preachers, before his conversion, in the State Church of Sweden. Many a Saturday night he spent drunk in the loft of a saloon, so that he was unable to attend services of Sun-

day. He became one of the best evangelists Sweden has ever produced. His conversion revitalized his parish.¹⁴³ The power of a single minister to mold his parish is strikingly illustrated in Sweden. The difference from one parish and another was practically the difference between the revival preacher and the conventional preacher. Another minister who had been a preacher many years before he was converted was Per Lorentz Sellergren (1769-1843). He was converted in 1814 and became a different pulpit man. His message came from his heart. He was a soul winner. He carried his passion for souls into as wide a field as possible. Soon he was carrying on a voluminous correspondence winning and guiding untold souls for Christ.¹⁴⁴ Per Nyman (1794-1856) was a preacher of rare eloquence. His two bishops, Mörner and Esaias Tegnér, opposed zealous preachers but they could not but admire Nyman. He was advanced in position by the bishops. It was done out of recognition for his powers as a leader of men. But it worked out unfortunately, in some ways, for he did not keep his earlier zeal when he was promoted. But he still was a mighty force as a preacher of repentance and salvation both in Småland and far and wide in Sweden. Lars Levi Laestadius

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 24.

(1800-1861) was an evangelist of a high order. He was a noted botanist. He held a pastorate in a northern section where he ministered to the Laplanders. Here his messages so gripped the souls of the Laplanders that a fanatic rolling and dancing took possession of them so that they had to be suppressed by the forces of law. Laestadius alone was unable to control them.¹⁴⁵ He was a rough, realistic speaker. His messages were simple and direct. In spite of the temporary fanaticism, he was able to convert his parish from a riot of drunkenness into a paradise of temperance. He preached law and enforced discipline, even by calling in the state when that became necessary.¹⁴⁶ Per Wieselgren (1800-1878) was a man of great learning and genius. The religious leaders of the time, in Sweden and in America were in close contact with him. His influence upon the free church and upon the revival movements was enormous. He was a university teacher as well as a pastor. He lectured and wrote on the subject of Aesthetics.¹⁴⁷ He was a noted defender of the temperance movement, second only to George Scott in the agitation for the control of all liquor and for the strict control of brännvin. So closely was his

¹⁴⁵Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁴⁶Stephenson, op. cit., p. 28.

¹⁴⁷Nyvall, op. cit., p. 25.

name linked with prohibition movements that his opponents dubbed a drink a "Wieselgrenian". Since the prohibition movement was also linked with fanatical movements, they also referred to a drink as "an inner missionary".¹⁴⁸ These Lutheran preachers of conversion did a great deal for the mission societies. They gave to them the resources of an established church plus the inspiration of a free spirit. The great love that the Mission Friends had for the Church of Sweden came from the fact that the knowledge of the Lutheran catechism and the use of the liturgy in the services fostered a deep reverence for God and for sacred things. They had a sense of awe and of responsibility woven into the very fibre of their being. With this background, no matter from what kind of clergyman it was received, the influence of the living Word was able to make a deep conviction of sin possible and a lasting consecration to the Lord of Grace a thing to be desired.¹⁴⁹ As various schismatic sects were drawing away members from the State Church, various mission societies were being organized all over Sweden. These societies were loyal to the Church. But they were anxious to meet together as

¹⁴⁸Stephenson, op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁴⁹Hjalmar Sundquist, "The Mission Covenanters, An Outline of History," Covenant Memories (Chicago: Covenant Book Concern, 1935), p. 21.

Christians and not merely as citizens. These organizations took two general forms. One was the "Communion Society", and the other was the "Mission Society". There was some overlapping between the two groups. In the main, however, the first type included the more ritualistically inclined. They felt that the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper was being desecrated because all citizens, believers and unbelievers alike, were not only permitted but forced to partake of the Lord's Supper. Those who felt strongly on this point organized meetings when only reborn, faithful Christians were present and took part in the service. They had a regularly ordained clergyman to administer the sacrament. Those who were more interested in seeing souls saved than in holding communion met together in the same manner as the läsare had been doing for so long. They were interested in bringing the good news to their fellows in their parish and to their countrymen in other parts of the world. Their interest spread to the heathen in foreign lands. Those who were converted in the meetings of these people were naturally mission-minded from the beginning. They were nicknamed "Mission Friends", and the name stayed with them. They accepted the name and used it extensively.¹⁵⁰ These different mission societies

¹⁵⁰C. V. Bowman, The Mission Covenant of America (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1925), p. 14.

never functioned as a church. They never called themselves a church. These mission societies did grow so large that they often included a whole province as their field. They sent out colporteurs into different parts of the province. The Jönköpings Missionsförening was one of these larger societies. One of them became a national institution. This was the Evan-geliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen (The National Evangelical Union).¹⁵¹ It has never separated from the State Church. It is organized as a missionary society within the Lutheran Church, but it is independent of the Lutheran missionary work.¹⁵² The other society which grew into a nation-wide movement was the Missionsförbundet (The Mission Covenant) which separated from the Lutheran Church.¹⁵³ Almost all of the individual members of the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden are also members of the State Church. In order to hold any position of responsibility, one must be a member of the State Church. The membership of these Mission Covenanters in the State Church is on a par with that of their citizenship in the State. It is the loyalty due to an institution that is beneficial to their best interests. Their loyalty to the Mission Covenant is on

¹⁵¹Ibid., pp. 14, 15.

¹⁵²The Sweden Year Book (Stockholm: Almqvist and Company, Publishers, 1938), p. 43.

¹⁵³Ibid.

a different plane. It is that of a loyalty to a loved one. It is a personal relationship. The relationship of the Mission Covenanters to the State Church and to the State itself is more or less an impersonal one.¹⁵⁴

19. C. O. Rosenius and the Revivals

The revivals which resulted in the foundation of the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden were guided by C. O. Rosenius. He was reared upon the preaching of the läsare in their conventicles, the reading of Luther's writings, and the singing of The Songs of Zion (Sions Sanger).¹⁵⁵ His father was a clergyman. But he was constantly being shifted about from parish to parish. He was fifty-four years old before he was given a permanent parish. As a result, C. O. Rosenius never gained the devotion to the State Church that most possessed.¹⁵⁶ Instead of going into the ministry of the State Church, Carl Olof Rosenius joined up with George Scott as an evangelist. He had been with Scott just a short time when Scott went on his ill-

¹⁵⁴Statement by Theodore W. Anderson, personal interview.

¹⁵⁵Gunnar Westin, Ur Den Svenske Folkväckelsens Historia och Samlevnad (Stockholm: Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsens Bokförlag, 1930), p. 10.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., p. 11.

fated visit to America. It fell upon Rosenius to carry on the work of the Swedish department in Scott's church. The authorities were soon after him to know why he, a student and a member of the State Church, was acting as a Methodist preacher. C. P. Hagberg, the superintendent and the pastor primarius of Stockholm, took the matter up with Rosenius. After a personal talk with him, Hagberg recommended that Rosenius be permitted to continue his work. When Scott came back from America he began the publication of a paper called Pietisten (The Pietist). This was in January 1842. In the fall of the same year Scott had to leave Sweden, and Rosenius took up his work. He continued the Pietisten and did all in his power to keep the work together. But the work was impossible to keep up in the face of opposition. Scott's Methodist Mission continued its work in secret. It became a conventicle instead of a chapel.¹⁵⁷ But this widened Rosenius' sphere of activity. He became the spokesman and leader for all those interested in rejuvenating the Church of Sweden. He was popular as a preacher at the conventicles all over Sweden and drew great crowds wherever he appeared. He was much ridiculed and slandered.¹⁵⁸ Rosenius

¹⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 19, 20.

¹⁵⁸M. W. Montgomery, A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway (New York: American Home Missionary Society, 1885), p. 28.

became all the better known because of this abuse. He, together with most of the other leaders in the revival movements, was anxious to remain a Lutheran and urged his followers to stay Lutheran in Church membership. His doctrine was in all respects strictly Lutheran. But he was the one, more than anyone else, who set in motion the impulses that brought about separation between the Mission Friends and the State Church.¹⁵⁹ His many meetings, the meetings of his followers, and the influence of Pietisten were the factors that cemented together the Mission Friends into a new sect.

20. The Organization of the Missionsförbundet

The work of Rosenius, at his death in 1868, was taken up by Prof. Peter Per Waldenström, Ph. D., D. D. Under his editorship, Pietisten took on a new power. Rosenius' strength lay in his insight into the human heart; Waldenstrom's strength lay in his insight into the Word of God and in his power of expression.¹⁶⁰ The Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen (The Evangelical Alliance) of 1853 had been slowly dying out. Under the inspiration of Rosenius and others, an attempt was made to revive it. This attempt to revive it resulted in a

¹⁵⁹John Henry Barrows, The World's Parliament of Religions, Vol. II (Chicago: The Parliament Publishing Company, 1893), p. 1514.

¹⁶⁰Ibid.

division between those who followed Waldenström and those who stayed close to the State Church. Those who followed Waldenström organized their own missionary society which they called the Missionsförbundet (The Mission Covenant). E. J. Ekman was elected president when the organization was effected on August 2, 1878. Waldenström had maintained, in Fictisten, the rights of lay preachers to proclaim the Word; he had asserted the right of believers to hold their own communion services either with or without the consent of the State Church, and he himself had officiated at the Lord's Table in the face of a command to refrain from such administration of the sacrament;¹⁶¹ and he had definitely contradicted the orthodox Lutheran conception of the Atonement.¹⁶² Waldenström was not present, although he was the one who had brought the issues to a head, when the Swedish Mission Covenant was organized, for he still hoped that he could remain within the Evangelical Alliance. When it became obvious that such was not possible, he voluntarily unfrocked himself, left the Evangelical Alliance and joined the Swedish Mission Covenant. He was its greatest leader. A preacher, a teacher, a scholar, a writer--and he excelled in them all.¹⁶³ The newly

¹⁶¹Ibid.

¹⁶²Stephenson, op. cit., p. 107.

¹⁶³Ibid., p. 109.

formed missionary society was a new denomination. It was a sect. Its spirit was not sectarian. But out of necessity it became a sect. Its members paid the regular State Church tax without complaining and kept up their own work as well.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴Nyvall, op. cit., p. 40.

CHAPTER V

AMERICAN ORIGINS OF THE COVENANT

21. Characteristics of the Swedish Immigrants of 1840 and on, and Comparison with those of 1638

Those who came to America from Sweden during the latter half of the nineteenth century were all more or less affected by the revivals that had occurred there. They had not all come because they despaired of the religious conditions in Sweden nor because they were seeking a land where they could worship unhindered.¹⁶⁵ They were fortune seekers; they were adventurers; they were poor people seeking a land easier to wrest a living from than their native soil; and they were persons leaving because of famines in northern Sweden.¹⁶⁶ Many of them were moving to America because of religious reasons. The period of the greatest immigration was from 1850 to 1905 with

¹⁶⁵George M. Stephenson, The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1932), p. 37.

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

the peak being reached in 1888.¹⁶⁷ From 1880 to 1905, the total immigration to America from Sweden was about one million souls.¹⁶⁸ This period coincided with the times of great spiritual awakening in the Mother Land. Economic reasons, of course, had their effect upon this folk movement. But spiritual and religious reasons were the underlying causes.

This suggests the basic comparisons with the first colonists from Sweden to the New World. They had come in 1638 in order to enhance their own fortunes and to continue the habits and customs of the old country. The Church of Sweden was the Church and they continued in their worship habits as they had been trained. They were not going to change in the new country. They maintained, in a large degree, their religious customs and seemed always to remember that God was to receive their homage first of all.¹⁶⁹ These who came in the nineteenth century, came mainly for religious reasons. Here they could have religious freedom. They could worship as they wished. It was not necessary to support both an established State Church and their own Free Church as well. Above all, they were free

¹⁶⁷C. V. Bowman, The Mission Covenant of America (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1925), pp. 15, 16.

¹⁶⁸Carl Peterson, "District Conferences: Eastern," Covenant Memories (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1935) p. 312.

¹⁶⁹John Curtis Clay, Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware (Chicago: John Curtis Memorial Committee, 1927), p. 116.

to choose as their pastors whom they would. This, plus their new freedom to form Mission Societies and to hold private Communion Services gave them a freedom in religious matters which the first immigrants knew nothing of nor would have seen any need of, though the earlier group unconsciously became very free and informal in their forms of worship.¹⁷⁰

22. Relation of Pietistic Swedish Immigrants of 1840
with the Augustana Synod, Natural Gravitation to,
Lack of Mutual Understanding

The Swedish immigrants naturally went to the churches where their own tongue was used. Most of these were Lutheran churches although there were Swedish Baptist and Swedish Methodist churches in America in the middle of the eighties. The name "Lutheran" inspired confidence in the newly arrived immigrant. He felt certain that the doctrinal position of the church would be sound just as in their own country any appeal to Luther and especially to his postils carried weight and conviction. The Swedish Lutheran Churches in America broke away from the Synod of Northern Illinois and set up the independent "Augustana Synod" in 1860.¹⁷¹ The fact that they

¹⁷⁰Clay, op. cit., p. 85.

¹⁷¹Stephenson, op. cit., p. 223.

were independent of the American Lutheran churches worked in two opposing ways. In the first place, the newly arrived Swedish people went to the church because it promised safety and surety. It was Swedish, and it was Lutheran. But, in the second place, the pietists and especially those strongly influenced by the revivals in Sweden were very critical of the Augustana Synod, for it was the "daughter of the State Church of Sweden". She was not a true "daughter". Strong Calvinistic tendencies and influences kept her from being purely Lutheran. The Augustana Synod freed herself from Calvinism to a large degree.¹⁷²

The Augustana Synod was becoming more and more formal in its worship service. At the same time, the revival-touched immigrants attending the Swedish Lutheran churches in America were increasing rapidly. These people failed to receive the heart warming messages in the churches which they had heard in mission meetings and in läsare meetings. The Lutheran Priests expected that the desire for a more spiritual message would soon be forgotten. They did not realize how deep-rooted the feeling was. If they had, they would undoubtedly have made serious efforts to heal the growing breach. As it was, the Mission Friends realized that they would get spiritual satisfaction only if they did as they had done in Sweden. That is,

¹⁷²Ibid.

they would have to form Mission Societies. They began to do this in a great number of settlements.

23. Lay Preaching, Björk and Others

The most significant Mission Society was the one formed in Swede Bend, Iowa. Carl August Björk, a young cobbler from Sweden, came here in 1864 directly from Sweden. He was a new convert of the Nya läsare type. His was a happy and joyful disposition. The very first Sunday that he was in Swede Bend he invited the people to meet with him in a home in the afternoon. He read a portion from the Pietisten and sang the old familiar songs to them. But his singing was happy and joyful. There was none of the old mournful psalm singing that had been so typical of both the State Church and the Gammalläsare. His visible happiness in his religion was a great magnet. His Sunday afternoon meetings steadily grew in numbers and in interest. Meanwhile, he had joined the local Lutheran church. Since the pastor had several churches in his circuit, he could not preach in Swede Bend every Sunday. Consequently, he was glad to have young Björk take charge of the Sunday service in his absence. Björk conducted this service in much the same way as he conducted the meetings in the homes. He read from Pietisten or from a postil instead of preaching a sermon. He handled the preliminaries in the conventional Lutheran manner. During the summer of 1865,

several persons were converted in the young läsarens home meetings. Two years later, in 1867, a revival broke out in the community. Björk was now the acknowledged spiritual leader of many in Swede Bend. On Good Friday, 1867, in the absence of the pastor, Björk was planning to conduct the service as usual. But when it came time to read from a psalm or from Pietisten, they were all gone. Someone had hid them so that he would have to preach extemporaneously. So, taking his text from the crucifixion narratives, he preached with some freedom but with great power to the spiritual uplifting of many souls. From this time on, Björk preached instead of read. This day, Good Friday in 1867, is significant in that it marks the birthday of the Mission Friends' actual ministry in America. A layman was its first minister. A new minister was sent to Swede Bend. He did not take very kindly to the Mission Friends and soon an open breach was manifest. Björk was called as the pastor of the Mission Friends. They held their meetings in a school house. They called their minister first, then they organized into the Mission Society of Swede Bend, Iowa of July 4, 1868.¹⁷³

This same thing occurred in countless parts of the United States. These Mission Societies were not churches. The members still held their membership in the Swedish Luth-

¹⁷³Bowman, op. cit., pp. 23-26.

eran churches in their respective communities. The men who were responsible for the holding of the Mission Meetings with their resulting revivals were soon called to other communities to hold Mission Meetings. In this way the movement spread rapidly from one Swedish community to another. By the time the work was being organized in Swede Bend by Björk and in Swede Point (Madrid) and in Des Moines by Blom, the same process was beginning in Illinois. It spread wherever Swedes settled.¹⁷⁴

The new converts poured forth their joy by singing inspiring hymns. Life was now meaningful and only song could say so. It became characteristic of the Mission Friends to sing with manifest joy. Björk had a great love for inspirational singing. The entire Mission Friend movement was a spontaneous work. It needed the music of inspired hearts to carry its message. Periods of revival have always been periods of song composition. New hymns were being composed in Sweden at this time. What Hans Sachs was to Luther and the Lutherans, Lina Sandell was to Rosenius and the läsare. Sandell's songs were not confined to man's relation to God as were the songs in the Psalmbok of the established Church, but they were also concerned with man's relation to his neighbor. The hymns

¹⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 31-35.

were set to music that made the heart lighter.¹⁷⁵ This has always been true of revival periods. Words that reflect the knowledge of the times, and tunes that reproduce the spirit of the age are the direct product of new periods of spiritual awakening.¹⁷⁶ The composer of music who became as well known as Sandell, the composer of hymns, was Oscar Ahnfelt. He took Lina Sandell's hymns, put them to music and went about Sweden singing them and accompanying himself with his guitar. The songs he sang became known as "Ahnfelt's Songs" although most all of them were composed by Lina Sandell. These songs, plus some composed by Rosenius, and interspersed with others by Rutström and Linderot, became the songs of the läsare.¹⁷⁷ These same songs were the ones used by the Mission Friends in America. But A. L. Skoog and J. A. Hultman and others have added to the rich repository of Swedish-American hymnody.

24. Influence of American Revivals, Moody and Sankey

The American Revivals introduced both new hymns and new tunes to the Swedish people. Many songs had already been

¹⁷⁵Stephenson, op. cit., p. 40.

¹⁷⁶Hjalmar Lundquist, "An Outline of History," Covenant Memories (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1935), p. 30.

¹⁷⁷Stephenson, op. cit., p. 40.

been translated into Swedish and had even been introduced to the läsare groups in Sweden. Scott, of course, had been responsible for introducing both English and American revival hymns.

The influence of Moody and Sankey upon the Swedish Mission Friends was great. The influence of Moody goes back to the time of Scott in Sweden, when devotional literature and sermons from Moody and Spurgeon and Wesley were widely read.¹⁷⁸ Moody attracted hundreds upon hundreds of Swedish-Americans to his services. He placed his tabernacle at the disposal of Skogsbergh. Later on, Skogsbergh built a tabernacle in Minneapolis and invited Moody to hold a series of meetings there upon its completion. In 1893, at the World's Fair in Chicago, Moody arranged evangelistic services in many languages. Skogsbergh conducted Swedish meetings for two months and was introduced to the crowds by Moody as the "Swedish Moody". Moody's spirit carried by Sankey's songs are still influencing the Mission Friends.¹⁷⁹ The general spirit of American evangelism was encouraging to these immigrants. They felt an at-home-ness with the revival groups at the same time as they tempered revival excesses with Swedish conservatism.

¹⁷⁸Ibid., p. 116.

¹⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 276, 277.

25. Early Desire for Organization

Mission Societies were rapidly springing up in all parts of the Middle West. Wherever läsare settled or the revival preachers held meetings, Mission Societies often resulted. With a common language, with a common religious fervor, with a desire to remain separate from the American denominations, there was a growing desire to fellowship together with their like-minded brethren. They took advantage of every opportunity to hold Mission Meetings together. They were Free Churches in spirit but that could not keep them from seeking out one another. It was not long before movements were under way which sought to organize the Mission Friends into one body.

Free Church movements have always felt a need for what they repudiate--organization. The Covenanters of Scotland had organized in 1843. Interest in this group found its way into Sweden through Hans Jacob Lundborg. The revivals in Sweden resulted in the formation of the National Evangelical Foundation, in the various Ansgar Unions, and, finally, in the Swedish Covenant of Sweden in 1878. A similar and almost contemporaneous process occurred in America. The Augustana Synod, then the Mission Synod, and then the Ansgarius Synod were organized. The Augustana was the Swedish branch of the

Lutheran Church in America.¹⁸⁰ It had attempted to retain all of the Swedish congregations in the Lutheran fold, but it failed in this particular endeavor. The Mission and the Ansgarius Synods later united into the Mission Covenant. It was not a complete union. The three synods did not include all of the Swedish congregations in existence nor were they able to draw in the new churches continually being organized. So out of the three synods and the independent churches, three bodies arose--the Augustana, the Mission Covenant, and the Free Mission. The Augustana was and remained basically Lutheran.

26. The Mission Synod

In September, 1872, a conference was held of the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Missions in the United States. A constitution was adopted at this meeting.¹⁸¹ This constitution accepted the revealed Word of God as the only infallible law of faith and practice. It also subscribed to the Apostolic, the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds. The Augsburg Creed in its original form was called a brief but true statement of the teachings of the Bible. This article could not

¹⁸⁰William W. Sweet, Our American Churches (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1924), p. 81.

¹⁸¹Stephenson, op. cit., p. 271.

be changed.¹⁸² As a result, the Bible was the final authority but so was Luther, for the Augsburg Confession was the final interpreter of Scripture.¹⁸³ The process of changing this one item was accomplished by disorganizing the Mission Synod and in reorganizing into the Mission Covenant. It was twelve years before this was done, however. Along with the problem of the Bible and the Creeds was the question of a ritual. The Mission Societies and Churches had been using the Lutheran manual for weddings, funerals, communion services, and at confirmation.¹⁸⁴ Should they also use the Lutheran service in their regular worship services? In the main, they were following a modified Lutheran service anyway. The first conference tabled the question, and it was never again taken up by the Mission Synod.¹⁸⁵ The conference held in Chicago did the heavy work of organizing. On May 22, 1873 in Keokuk, Iowa the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Mission Synod was officially organized, and it was incorporated under the laws of the State of Iowa. The main decision to be made at Keokuk was whether the Mission Synod should be independent or if it

¹⁸²Bowman, op. cit., p. 80.

¹⁸³Ibid., p. 100.

¹⁸⁴Ibid., p. 82.

¹⁸⁵Ibid., p. 83.

should become part of a larger, better established Lutheran Synod. Independence prevailed. Charles Anderson, the leader of the union group, together with several of the pastors withdrew.

27. The Ansgarius Synod

Anderson, Anjou and others immediately began the formation of a separate synod which was to be separate from the Lutheran Synod of Northern Illinois.¹⁸⁶ A conference of organization was held May 16 to 19, 1874 at Galesburg, Illinois. It took the name of the Evangelical Lutheran Ansgar Synod. Anjou was the president and Anderson was secretary of the newly organized group. They adopted the regular Lutheran confessionals of faith much as the Mission Synod had done. However, they affiliated with the General Synod of the Lutheran Church.¹⁸⁷ They joined with the General Synod instead of with the General Council, for the Synod was more liberal, permitted laymen to preach, accepted the ministers of other denominations, and its ministers were servants and not masters of the people, and it was American rather than German, and it was not High Church.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶Stephenson, op. cit., p. 272.

¹⁸⁷David Nyvall, The Swedish Covenanters, A History (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1930), p. 55.

¹⁸⁸Stephenson, op. cit., p. 273.

28. The Mission Covenant Organized

Almost from the beginning of the two separate Synods, there were movements towards reconciliation. The laymen had opposed the affiliation with the Lutheran General Synod. It was not working out well for the ministers. So, in June of the year 1878, the Ansgarius Convention sent a proposal of Union to the Mission Synod. The Mission Synod agreed that union was desirable but not practicable at the time. From this time on there was a constant movement towards union. The main problems which had to be settled were four.

1). Worldliness. The Mission Synod permitted all believers, but only believers to join the Church. The Ansgar groups permitted the worldly as well as the redeemed to full fellowship.

2). Denominationalism. There were many, especially among the Mission Synod people, who believed that any form of organization was wrong. These later became the organizers of the Free Mission Church. The Ansgarius Synod accepted, in the main, the idea of an organization in order to carry on the work of the church. The basic idea behind the thinking of the opponents of organization was that Christ would come and the world would be judged unto doom before these organizations could function effectively.

3). Properties. Neither group had much money invested

in property as yet. But the Anderson faction had started a school in Keokuk which was in dire straits. The Mission Synod had a school in the basement of its Minneapolis Tabernacle which was doing better, for it had no fixed expenses of operation, such as the Keokuk school had, since it was conducted as part of the Church. It was Ansgarius College plus some investments in mission places that caused this problem of property.

4). Atonement. Waldenström's doctrine of the Atonement was a much debated subject. The Free Church people and some of the Augustana people accepted the doctrine. A few Augustana churches became affiliated with the Waldenströmi-ans, as they were called. This doctrine helped to solidify the Free Churches into one group. It helped them realize that they had a common cause and a common purpose. It tended to widen the breach between them and the Lutherans, for the latter church criticized Waldenström severely. In a common defense of Waldenström, the leaders of the Mission Synod and of the Ansgarius Synod came closer together. Unfortunately, it took years for them to realize Waldenström's position. In the meantime, they were opposing one another on the basis of pro- and anti-Waldenströmi-anism.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹Nyvall, op. cit., pp. 57-60.

Several congregations were withdrawing from both of the Free Church Synods. Several new churches had been organized and were staying out of all denominations. Neither of the two Synods was finding the success that it had hoped for in its organization. It was becoming manifest that a new organization was necessary.

In order to release its member churches so they would be free to participate in a new Union endeavor, the Ansgarius Synod voted at a special meeting in August, 1884, at Worcester to dissolve its organization contingent upon the success of reorganization. The final dissolution was effected at a meeting held in June, 1885, in Moline.¹⁹⁰

The independent Chicago Tabernacle Church appointed a committee to confer with C. A. Björk, the president of the Mission Synod. As a result, a "Union Meeting" was called for February 18 to 25, 1885. The congregations that had been members of the Ansgarius Synod, the independent congregations, and those of the Mission Synod were all sent invitations.

The motion to unite the different congregations was made on February 20, 1885. There were sixty-two pastors and lay delegates present. All but two or three persons voted in the affirmative. The next day, February 21, 1885, the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America was officially

¹⁹⁰Bowman, op. cit., p. 137.

organized. It adopted a short but adequate constitution on the same day. It is incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois.¹⁹¹ It held its first annual Convention in Princeton, Illinois, in September, 1885. C. A. Björk was the president. The extremists who followed Princell did not join the Mission Covenant. They banded together under such names as the "Work of the Christians in Common", the "Swedish-American Missionary Society", and the "Free Mission". In 1908 they incorporated under the laws of the State of Minnesota as the Swedish Evangelical Free Church.¹⁹² Both denominations have since dropped the word "Swedish" from their incorporated names. The main points of difference between the two groups were five in number.

1). Baptism. The Free Church has practiced and taught total immersion of adults, while the Mission Covenant has permitted either method.

2). Sanctification. Princell and especially his followers were accused of Perfectionism. The influence of Methodism was evident in both groups, but this one point was made much of among the Free Church members. These people were

¹⁹¹Swenska Evangeliska Missionsförbundet i Amerika, Årberättelse (Chicago: Missionsförbundets Expedition, 1924), p. 154.

¹⁹²Stephenson, op. cit., p. 288.

called the "Sin-Free". They believed that one who was saved could never sin.¹⁹³

3). Justification. Waldenström held that the world was not justified once and for all in Christ's death. The Mission Covenant tended to accept this more than did the Free Church.

4). Atonement. The Mission Covenant, in the main, accepts Waldenström's views on this doctrine to a much greater extent than do the Free Church people.

5). Church Membership. The Free Church has been very extreme in its views on church membership. For years, no record was kept of its membership or of any other branch of the local church. This was also true of some of the Mission Covenant churches in their formative years, but it was not as prevalent as it was with the other group.¹⁹⁴

The Mission Covenant included the majority of the independent Swedish churches, most of the Mission Synod congregations, and about half of the Ansgarius Synod's churches within its membership. The Mission Covenant is about six times as large as the Free Church. The Mission Covenant is homogeneous to a degree that makes it possible to speak of its theology. But one cannot speak in dogmatic, categorical

¹⁹³Statement of Rev. C. O. Peterson, personal interview.

¹⁹⁴Stephenson, op. cit., p. 287.

terms. In the light of its background, though, there are certain things which one can say with certainty. There are certain general tendencies which are characteristic of the Covenant as a whole. It is of those things that we next concern ourselves.

CHAPTER VI

THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT

29. Waldenström's Doctrine of the Atonement as a Distinctive Mark of Covenant Theology and the Origin of His Doctrine

Mission Covenant Theology has been traditionally Lutheran.¹⁹⁵ There have been many other influences that have shaped the whole course of Covenant thinking until, today, it is much different from Lutheranism. Yet throughout all of the changes, it has been considered Lutheran.¹⁹⁶ There have been enough points of similarity between the two so one could say, with little fear of being contradicted, that it was in most things, a Lutheran church. But when the storm broke over Waldenströmianism, the break between them became mani-

195C. V. Bowman, The Mission Covenant of America (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1925), p. 90.

196Hjalmar Sundquist, "An Outline of History," Covenant Memories (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1935), p. 77.

fest. It became certain that the Lutheran churches and the Mission Covenant were different theologically. In America, the Mission Covenant went its own way. Where there had been a fairly close fellowship between it and the Augustana Synod, there became a sharp distinction. The two were different in theology.¹⁹⁷ And this became more and more evident. Now, the followers of Waldenström were considered heretics from the Lutheran Church by both the laymen and the clergy of the Lutheran Church.¹⁹⁸ The schibboleth of the times became Waldenström and his theory of the Atonement.

Waldenström's theory dates back to a question and to the searching of the Scriptures in order to find the answer. In one of the lectures which he delivered at Gavle, Sweden, he mentioned that God had become reconciled to man through the death of Christ on the cross. His students asked him for Scriptural references to prove his point. He became angry and said that it was written everywhere. But they still insisted upon an answer, so he tried to find the references.¹⁹⁹ Meanwhile, in the summer of 1870, he was talking with a group of ministers. During the course of the conversation, one of the

197 David Ryvall, The Swedish Covenanters: A History (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1967), pp. 118, 119.

198 Carl Peterson, "District Conferences: Eastern," Covenant Memories (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1975), p. 712.

199 J. W. Stephenson, Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1932), p. 107.

men piously remarked, "How glorious it is that God is reconciled!" Right away Waldenström asked him, "Where is that written?" They laughed at him, for they took for granted, as he once had, that it was written everywhere in the Bible.²⁰⁰ He began to search the Scriptures anew. Finally, he concluded that the familiar Anselmian ransom theory of the atonement was unscriptural. In its place he worked out a theory of the atonement which he presented in a sermon on the twentieth Sunday after Trinity in the year, 1872. The periodical, Pietisten, carried his sermon into all parts of Sweden and into America.²⁰¹ Right away a flood of pamphlets and of newspaper articles covered the country. Both sides presented their arguments with great zeal. There was a constant appeal to Scripture and to Luther. Both were supposed to support each side. There was never a time when the Swedish people studied the Scriptures to "see if these things were so" with greater zeal and enthusiasm.²⁰² It was a time of refreshing revivals.²⁰³ Many were converted

²⁰⁰ Axel Andersson, The Christian Doctrine of the Atonement According to L. E. Waldenström, trans. . . . Redstrand (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1927), p. 6.

²⁰¹ ibid., p. 6.

²⁰² M. W. Montgomery, A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway (New York: American Home Missionary Society, Bible House, 1885), p. 40.

²⁰³ Bowman, op. cit., p. 96.

by reading and studying their Bibles. This Bible study was a directed one. The leaders of each side quoted their references and the people, in the main, looked them up and either verified or rejected their application to the doctrine. This systematic study of the Bible together with the great amount of reading they were doing of expository material, was bound to result in an increased knowledge of the Bible and deepened understanding of its meaning. That it resulted in conversions is largely due to the emphasis upon the need for salvation which was inextricably bound up with the entire doctrine of the Atonement.

30. The Five Points in Waldenström's Doctrine of the Atonement

The Nature of God

Behind Luther's doctrine of Justification by Faith was the concept of a God in whom was forgiveness and in whom man could have faith. Melancthon himself failed to understand the thought of Luther. He thought in legalistic terms. His interpretation of the Atonement conveys a different insight into the character of God from that of Luther. The entire work of salvation, according to Melancthon, was God's. Man was merely the passive recipient of God's grace. This was

the accepted view in Sweden. Waldenström, according to his followers, was going back of Melancthon to Luther himself.

Waldenström's understanding of God was of One who was forgiving and who responded to man's faith. Back of this was the firm belief that God was love. The understanding of theological doctrines and especially of the Atonement rested, for Waldenstrom, in realizing this essential nature of God.²⁰⁴

This essential nature of God is one of love. Because God is love, He loves the world. It would be contrary to his nature to refrain from loving man. His love is not dependent upon the worthiness of those who are loved. We men often quit loving a person, if he sins against us. But God does not cease loving us even when we sin against Him. It is a pagan idea that we have when we imagine that the God of love begins to hate us when we sin against Him. It is pagan, too, to think that God has hated all of mankind ever since the first man fell into sin. God has always loved man. His love is never failing. It is as sure as that of the Loving Father recorded in Luke 15: 11-32. It is unceasing. God's love is greater than that of either a father or a mother. It is as the psalmist in Psalm 27: 10 declares:

²⁰⁴Ernst Newman, Den Waldenströmska Församlingens Lära (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistförlag i Köpenhamn, 1922), pp. 7, 8.

If my father and my mother forsake me,
Then the Lord will take me up.

But the reply was made to Waldenström that if we do not need Christ to save us from God and His wrath, then we do not need Christ at all. To this, Waldenström answered that the Serpent of Brass referred to in Numbers 21: 4-9 was not needed to save the Israelites from God but from the plague of the serpents. Christ, in a similar way, is not needed to save man from God but from the plague of sin.

Waldenström and his followers were accused of doing away with Christ. As a matter of fact, Christ was the very heart and center of Waldenströmianism. He was the full expression of God's love. In Christ, who was true God and true man, the nature of God was revealed in history. God is pure love. Quoting Luther, Waldenström said: "God is love itself; and God's nature is pure love. If anyone desires to paint a true picture of God, he must picture him as pure love." That is what Waldenström endeavored to do.²⁰⁵

The Obstacle to Man's Salvation not in God's Heart

Since it was obvious that man stood in need of salvation, there was obviously something that was keeping man from being

²⁰⁵Andersson, op. cit., pp. 10-13.

saved. The only one who had the power of saving man was God who was omnipotent. Obviously then, according to the orthodox Lutheran theologians, it was God who was keeping man from finding salvation. The reason for this, they argued, was that God was righteous. His righteousness could not permit a sinful creature to come near him. That is, since God was both a God of love and of righteousness, the two were bound to come into conflict one with the other. Whenever that occurred, God's righteousness was considered to be dominant. But to Waldenström, righteousness was the fulfillment of love. The righteousness of God is not something terrible. It is something comforting and pleasant. God's righteousness finds its expression in His wrath and in His love. In His wrath, God hates sin. The Lord Jesus Christ hates sin and unrighteousness as much as does the Father. But at the same time as God hates sin, he loves the sinner. So does Jesus love sinners. If God had not loved sinful men with an all embracing love, He would not have sent His only begotten Son to bring life to men. Jesus offered Himself fully because His love for man was the same righteous love as was the Father's. Waldenström sums up his teaching in these words:

Just as there is no righteousness in the Son that contradicts his love or which demands exoneration or restitution in order to permit him to show mercy, so is there no such righteousness in the Father. Otherwise the righteousness of the Son would not be similar to that of the Father, and it would

not be true that the Father and the Son are one. Just as certain as there does not exist in the Son a righteousness which hates sin less than the Father hates it, neither is it the will of the Son nor the purpose of his work to save us from the wrath of the Father.

The work of Jesus was not to save us from a God whose righteousness was less than that of the Scribes and the Pharisees.²⁰⁶

The Obstacle to Man's Salvation

Certainly, according to Waldenström, whatever was keeping man from salvation was not in God but in man himself. He also traced the change in the relationship between God and man back to the fall. It was man's disobedience to God that caused his fall. But man remained away from God because of man's own choice. Man is lost only because he neglects God's redemption. It is never God's will that man should be lost. There is a darkness in man's heart which prevents him from understanding the true nature of God. It is that darkness that makes him see God in a wrong way. The devil, who is the prince of the power of the air and the spirit that now works in the children of disobedience, is the one who causes the darkness in man's heart for the devil works by deceit.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ibid., pp. 15, 16.

²⁰⁷ibid., pp. 31, 45, 46.

Reconciliation and Righteousness

Reconciliation with God is salvation. That reconciliation is achieved by God in and through Christ Jesus our Lord. It is not achieved because we are worthy, nor in buying it from God as though it were merchandise. It is achieved because God loves us, and it consists in redemption from the power of sin. When man is reconciled to God, his life is made right. It has been redeemed from sin. It is one with the life of Christ. In Christ, man is made alive.

In order to save man, it was necessary that man's sins should be forgiven. The purpose of the Atonement was to save man. This could be done only by taking away the sins of men. It is Christ who has taken away our sins. He has not paid any price to God. He has purified "our consciences from the old wrongdoing for the worship of the ever-living God" (Hebrews 9: 14).²⁰⁸

Reconciliation to God

At first, Waldenström said that this reconciliation was once and for all achieved in Christ Jesus. That is, along with the other ministers of the time, he believed that the unsaved

²⁰⁸Ibid., pp. 47-50.

in hell were there with their sins forgiven as a punishment for not believing that fact. Someone asked him for Scripture references to prove this. He couldn't find any. He realized that God Himself had done the reconciling. The reconciling was of man. God had brought man to Himself. He had done it in and through Jesus Christ. But the problem here was that of whether the reconciliation between God and the world was completed. As He was hanging on the cross, Jesus said, "It is finished" (John 19: 30). It was therefore contended that the work of reconciliation was completed. But Waldenström rejects this reasoning. The world is not yet reconciled. It is not yet saved. The millenium has not yet come. The work of Christ on earth was completed on the cross. Therefore He said, "It is finished". But God's work of reconciliation is not yet completed. Paul, in II Corinthians 5: 20, 21 entreats the world to be reconciled to God.

It is for Christ, therefore, that I am an envoy, seeing that God makes his appeal through me. On Christ's behalf I beg you to be reconciled to God. He made him who knew nothing of sin to be sin, for our sake, so that through union with him we might become God's uprightness.

The whole message of the atonement is "be ye reconciled". The world is being redeemed. But it is not yet accomplished. Someday, though, it shall be accomplished.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁹Ibid., pp. 92-94.

CHAPTER VII

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH

31. Relationship between Church and State

The Mission Covenant has continually tended to believe in a complete separation of Church and State. Some Covenanters have carried this to the extreme of absolutely ignoring the State. Such people have felt that the Church had absolutely nothing to do with civic affairs. Others have gone to the extreme of believing that anything institutional was thereby evil. As a result, they kept no record of the members of the early Mission Societies. For instance, at Omaha, work had been conducted since 1868, but no official record was kept until September, 1882, when they organized a local church.²¹⁰

The main reason that the Covenant opposes the idea of a State Church is because of the experiences of the early Mission Friends in Sweden with the State Church there. They

²¹⁰J. O. Lonnquist, "District Conferences: Nebraska", Covenant Memories (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1935), pp. 429-431

had felt the lash of ecclesiastical control from a State dominated Church. Persecution and derision were remembered where theory was disregarded. Of course, in time they came to see the need of an established institution. But even then, the very minimum of control was the ideal. "The least government", as Thomas Jefferson said, "is the best government." This was applied in a very literal way to the government of the Church. Mission Covenant members adopted a very short constitution and have succeeded in keeping it compact and understandable. The Mission Covenant has accepted a minimum of organization only because that was necessary in order to carry on its work. It has never accepted the theory of a State Church, and it probably never will.²¹¹

32. The Pure Church

That the Church as such is composed of only redeemed souls and of all redeemed souls is the contention of the Mission Covenant. It rejects the idea that the distinctive message of the Christian Community is its distinguishing mark.²¹² The

²¹¹Theodore W. Anderson, "Covenant Principles," Covenant Memories (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1975), p. 12.

²¹²Manfred Björquist, "The Idea of a National Church," Church and Community (Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company, 1938), p. 118.

distinguishing mark of the Christian Church is the character of its members. It has a special message to the world. But that message is dependent upon its individual members. When its members are all "saved" persons, then it can better proclaim its message to the world.

The ideal Church is one which includes all believers but only believers. It must be complete in order to be the true Church. This is realizable only in eternity. The true Church is in existence now. Part of it is included in the present Church. The way to insure that the present Church is really the true Church is to purify it. If that is not possible, then the thing to do is to organize the Church after the pattern of the New Testament Church. This is just what all of the so-called "young" denominations have done. None of them have succeeded completely. But that does not nullify the principle for none of the deeds of men ever reach the ideal. The Church as such is for the "saved". The closer one is able to draw the distinction between the "saved" and the world, the closer the present Church will approach the heavenly one. No one belittles the difficulties in the way of realizing this ideal. Yet the Mission Covenant believes that the ideal of a pure Church is a worthy one. The fact of an inclusive body, "all believers", makes it an exclusive body, "only believer".²¹³

²¹³Hjalmar Sundquist, "An Outline of History," Covenant Memories (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1935), p. 74.

33. The Mission of the Church

The first mission of the Church is to look after the spiritual needs of its members. Their problems and needs are of primary significance. Then, and almost simultaneously with it, comes the call to service. Out of the läsare meetings and from the Mission Meetings have gone forth missionaries. The missionary work of the Covenant was begun long before the Covenant as such was even organized. It was the need of uniting in order to carry on, in the most effective manner, its different missionary enterprises that is responsible for the organization of the Mission Covenant into a denomination.²¹⁴

The first missions were home missionary stations. Men went into nearby communities and held evangelistic services. Many of these became churches in a comparatively short time. In order to support these evangelists, several Mission Societies banded together and supplied their needs. Mission Conferences were established in this way.²¹⁵ All of these mission places were established in newly organized Swedish

²¹⁴John Henry Barrows, The World's Parliament of Religions, Vol. II (Chicago: The Parliament Publishing Company, 1893), p. 1516.

²¹⁵Vernon Benson, District Conferences: Upper Michigan, Covenant Memories (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1935), p. 409.

settlements.

In 1883 the Mission Synod had begun work among the Jews in Chicago. J. E. Marcus was their missionary. This was a short-lived mission. In 1884 the Mission Synod started an immigrant mission in New York City. Rev. P. Peterson was the first missionary in charge of the station.²¹⁶ This has been one of the most profitable mission fields in which the Covenant has been actively interested. The Covenant took over the work from the Mission Synod when the new denomination, the Mission Covenant, was organized. It was continued until recent years. Immigration has practically ceased from Sweden to America. The migration is reversed today. More people are leaving America in order to make their permanent home in Sweden than are moving here from Sweden.²¹⁷

The Mission Covenant's home missionary work has kept on unabated. Work is carried on in unevangelized communities. Sunday schools are organized; evangelistic services are conducted; and churches are organized. This work is carried on in every state in the Union where the Covenant has churches already established, besides in some of the Southern States where the work is absolutely new. The work has also reached

²¹⁶C. V. Bowman, The Mission Covenant (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1925), p. 138.

²¹⁷Anderson, op. cit., p. 7.

Canada where an extensive campaign is under way.

Summer Conferences and Bible camps are conducted by almost every District Conference. This has been a solidifying influence upon the entire Covenant. The result of this has been to enhance the sense of a common task. Partly as a result of this realization, the number of our missionaries has increased from year to year. This includes both home and foreign missionaries. The Summer Conferences have been planned for Young People and for Juniors. The one held at Mission Springs, California (seven miles north of Santa Cruz) is the only one noted as a "family" conference. Daily Vacation Bible Schools have become a recognized part of the Sunday School department. Practically every church either conducts one by itself or in conjunction with neighboring churches. The tendency is to have the local Daily Vacation Bible School conducted as part of the local church work. The work is considered to be more effectively done, if it is done by a denominational church than by a group of cooperating churches where only the bare minimum of belief can be taught.²¹⁸

The work which is discussed the most is the foreign work. Included in this is the Alaska mission which was transferred from the Covenant of Sweden to the Covenant of America in 1889.

²¹⁸Clarence T. Molen, personal interview.

The Alaska mission then seemed to be part of foreign territory.²¹⁹ The Covenant now has six missionaries on that field.

The next mission field was China. At the annual conference of 1890, held in Galesburg, Illinois, it was decided to initiate work there. Rev. P. Matson, who is still active on the field, was one of the first to go out to the Covenant's China mission.²²⁰ Altogether, there are thirty-six missionaries in the China mission work now.

The newest field is that of Africa. The Free Mission Church turned over its field to the Mission Covenant in 1935. The territory allotted to the Covenant is in Central Africa bordering the mission field of the Covenant of Sweden.²²¹ There are now nine missionaries on this field.

²¹⁹C. V. Bowman, op. cit., p. 202.

²²⁰ibid., p. 206.

²²¹Cust. E. Johnson, "Our Africa Mission," Covenant Memor-
ies (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1975), p. 176.

CHAPTER VIII

OTHER POINTS OF DOCTRINE

34. Evangelism as the Basis of Doctrine

The Mission Covenant has always been counted among the Evangelical denominations. That its faith must be propagated has been its driving force from its very beginning. Evangelical zeal and missionary activity are inseparable.²²² The question debated at the organization of the Mission Covenant was whether or not they, as churches and ministers, could better spread the gospel by organizing. The spreading of the gospel has been the objective in practically all of the work undertaken by the Mission Covenant.

The methods of evangelism which the Covenant has used have been those of the saner type. "High pressure" evangelical methods are frowned upon. The Covenant has always believed that the "sowing of the word" will bear fruit in its season.

²²²"Theology," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. III, p. 299a.

Believing this, it has built for the future. In going out to the unsaved, it has tried hard to follow out the Great Commission given in Matthew 28: 18-20 (and Mark 16: 15).

Its program has included this threefold objective contained in Jesus' commission. Nathaniel Franklin has summarized the Covenant's program in the following words:

1). The individual's regeneration by the power of God's Holy Spirit, and surrender and dedication of heart and life to the lordship and guidance of the Triune God;

2). Instruction both about the way of Truth and Life for all, and spiritual nurture in it for Christ's disciples;

3). Guidance in Christian living and inspiration for service to our fellowmen in the spirit of Christian love.²²³

Evangelical meetings are held more or less regularly by most of the Mission Covenant Churches. There are very few "professional" evangelists called in to conduct these meetings. Fellow pastors are usually called in for a week or more of special meetings. This has become rather a typical method of conducting services. The people are anxious to get acquainted with all of the men in the denomination. When the denomination was smaller, almost every member had heard practically every one of the Mission Covenant ministers at least once. This is no longer possible, but each local member does want

²²³Nathaniel Franklin, "The Covenant Young People's and Sunday School Work," Covenant Memories (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1935), p. 200.

to hear everyone of the pastors in the local district Conference.

Evangelical Christianity emphasizes human depravity and the need for conversion. The older läsare of Sweden were prone to sing and talk a great deal about what great sinners they were. The new läsare liked to sing more about their new found joy in the Lord Jesus Christ. C. A. Bjork, "Sunshine" Anderson, and "Sunshine organist" Hultmann were the American protagonists of the new läsare. Both of these tendencies are still to be found in the Mission Covenant. Both groups work together harmoniously and hold meetings in one another's churches. They are close together in recognizing the need for salvation. The only difference is in the emphasis placed upon either sin or salvation. All Mission Covenant ministers, without exception, as far as I know, do preach both the depravity of man and the need for salvation in and through Christ Jesus. There is unity on that point.

35. The Historic Creeds

Of all the church groups which are historically Lutheran, the Mission Covenant is the only one which has adopted no formal creed. The closest it comes to having a creed is that its constitution says that it accepts the Old and New Testaments as the only perfect rule of faith and conduct.

Although the Covenant has rejected all Creeds as man-made devices, in actual fact, the Augsburg Confession is occasionally made the final arbitrator. Most Mission Covenanters, as a matter of fact, agree with the words and the wording of Luther's confession.²²⁴

36. Views on Baptism

The Mission Covenant has come to no fixed view upon the practice of baptism. Great freedom is permitted. Most of the ministers permit either sprinkling or immersion. There is no attempt to enforce any conformity of practice. Whatever the new convert prefers is done. In the mission fields, immersion of adults is the ordinary procedure. But this is done more out of expediency than because of any conviction that this is the proper method.

Child baptism is commonly practiced. Some parents and ministers prefer to dedicate infants without actually baptizing them by sprinkling. This seems to be rather an isolated practice. Perhaps this mode of procedure is due to influence from the Free Mission Church rather than from the Baptist denomination for the Free Mission prefers to baptize by immersion rather than by sprinkling. It follows, then, that child

²²⁴Erjalmar Sundquist, "An Outline of History," Covenant Memories (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1975), p. 78.

baptism is not the usual practice with them. Instead, they make it a practice to bring the child to the Lord in a dedicatory service. Mission Covenant ministers baptize infants because they consider the service mainly one of dedication.

37. The Second Coming of Christ

There is unanimity of opinion within the Covenant as to Christ's Second coming. "He is coming again" as the hymn has it, expresses their sentiments. Waldenstrom expected Him to come before the Millenium and so do most of the ministers.²²⁵ A few are post-millennialists. A very few are a-millennialists. These latter hold that Christ's second coming is to be a purely spiritual coming. But the majority hold to a literal "Second Coming in the Clouds".

There is much less preaching about the terribleness of His Coming and a great deal more about "that great and wonderful day when the saints will rise to see Him as He is". The fear technique so characteristic of past decades is being gradually eliminated. Of course, there is still the emphasis upon man's unworthiness and upon the sinfulness of his nature. But the chief emphasis is Christ.

²²⁵ E. W. Montgomery, A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway (New York: American Home Missionary Society, Bible House, 1885), p. 74.

38. The Godhead: the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit

The Covenant is traditionally orthodox in its acceptance of the Triune God. The Father of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ is the Creator and Sustainer of the Universe. God is our Savior, as Waldenström pointed out. The Lord Jesus Christ is also our Savior but only as He was "obedient unto death". Jesus is very God. The Covenant conceives of no other place for Him than at the right hand of God the Father. The only begotten Son of God is also Son of man. He is the very incarnation of God in man. How? no explanation is offered by the Covenant. It is a truth to be accepted. The Holy Spirit of God is the third person in the Trinity. He is the One who inspired "holy men of old" to write the Scriptures. He also is the One who convicts man of sin. He is working in this present world. He is the one whom Jesus promised when He went away. That is, the Holy Spirit is the Paraclete of the gospel of John (John 15: 26).

39. Basic Conservatism

In all things theological, the Evangelical Mission Covenant of America is conservative. It tends to be fundamentalistic. It has rejected modernism in all its forms. The Bible is the final authority in all matters. Attempts that have been made to make the different creeds the interpreta-

tors of the Bible have all failed for there has always been someone to test the creeds by the Bible.

The Lord's Supper and Baptism are the two traditionally Protestant sacraments. These have been accepted by the Mission Covenant. The Lord's Supper is open to all believers. They have practiced open communion from their beginnings.

In late years, there has been a growing tendency towards pacifism. It is a minority movement. But it is indicative of a growing social consciousness.

So far, the Covenant has not joined the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America nor has it joined in any of the ecumenical movements. It has, however, cooperated with the Foreign Missions Conference of America and the Swedish-American Interchurch Council.²²⁶

The Mission Covenant has taken part in world-wide conferences of Evangelical Churches. If it joins with any other denomination, it will be one that is strictly evangelical.²²⁷

²²⁶The Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America, Year Book (Chicago, 1933), p. 113.

²²⁷Hjalmar Sundquist, "An Outline of History," Covenant Memories (Chicago: The Covenant Book Concern, 1935), p. 75.

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